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THE DATE OF CHRIST'S BIRTH: PRESENT STATE OF THE QUESTION

THERE have been innumerable studies written in recent years on the date of Christ's birth ;[1] yet despite this plethora of discussion the problem remains far from settled. However, the biblical and historical investigation involved in these endeavors has not been unfruitful. A certain unity of direction has been given to various archaeological, epigraphical, and papyrological investigations,[2] while a new impetus has been furnished for further pursuit of the literary-historical sources concerning details of Roman provincial administration, as well as of the circumstances surrounding the events recorded in the Gospel narratives. This article endeavors to gather together the main findings of such recent research.

Unfortunately, a certain disregard of chronological preciseness was characteristic of the writers of antiquity. Thus St. Matthew and St. Luke in recording the actual fact of the birth of Christ are almost casual—and this, despite the fact that the Savior's coming was so repeatedly a matter of prophecy, and of longing expectation,

[1] U. Holzmeister, *Chronologia vitae Christi* (Rome, 1933), pp. 15-17, gives a full bibliography of the larger aspects of the question, particularly from the biblical side. For a summary of recent work from the viewpoint of Roman history, cf. R. Syme, "Galatia and Pamphylia under Augustus," *Klio*, XXVII (1934), 131 ff.; T. Corbishley, "Quirinius and the Census: Present State of the Question," *Klio*, XXIX (1936), 81 ff.

[2] Cf. A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 4th ed. (London, 1927), esp. pp. 252-409.

throughout Old Testament times.[3] Matthew merely links the date with the days of King Herod, particularly with his death;[4] Luke synchronizes it with the census proclaimed by Augustus, and taken up while Cyrinus (Quirinius) was governor in Syria.[5]

In an attempt to discredit the historicity of the Gospels, and particularly that of St. Luke, the whole question has been needlessly complicated by the nineteenth-century rationalist theologians and historians. Best represented perhaps by Ernest Renan's *Vie de Jésus*, D. F. Strauss' *Leben Jesu*, and by the Tübingen school in general, these scholars were extremely critical of Matthew and Luke on the infancy narrative, going so far as to maintain that Christ was born, not in Bethlehem as the Evangelists state, but in Nazareth, thus flying in the face of historical record.[6] But such efforts have proven of little avail.

As early as 1880, Theodor Mommsen made the first effective, lay protest against such arbitrary disregard of possible evidence.[7] His excursus on the Tiburtine fragment in connection with the governorship of Cyrinus in Syria—wherein he followed a suggestion of the older archaeologist San Clemente[8]—proved a valuable piece of reconstruction, though of late his conclusions have been called into question. Adolph Harnack likewise did much to substantiate the Lucan authorship of the third Gospel and of the Acts of the Apostles.[9] But the true rehabilitator of St. Luke was Sir William Ram-

[3] For a brief discussion of the prophecies, cf. A. C. Cotter, *Theologia Fundamentalis* (Weston, Mass., 1940), pp. 326 ff. On the messianic stirrings troubling the religious pagan at this time, cf. A. D. Nock in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. X (London, 1934), 503-511; also K. Karenyi, "Das Persische Millenium in Mahabharata bei der Sibylle und Vergil," *Klio*, XXIX (1936), 1-35.

[4] Matt. 2: 1 and 15.

[5] Luke 2: 1 and 2.

[6] Of the same frame of mind are many of the more modern rationalists, thus: E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, I, 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1901), 519-524; E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, I (Stuttgart, 1921), 46-51.

[7] *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 2nd ed. (Berlin 1883), pp. 161-178.

[8] *De vulgaris aerae emendatione* (Rome, 1793), pp. 414 f.

[9] Cf. *Lukas der Artzt, der Verfasser des dritten Evangeliums, und der Apostelgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1906; Eng. transl., *Luke the Physician*, London, 1907).

say, particularly in his book, *Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament.*[10] His article "Some Notes on the Roman Province Galatia,"[11] is still of great value, though some of his opinions have been criticized quite recently.[12]

Happily, the net result of such studies has been a clearing of the atmosphere. Occasionally, however, we still encounter a return to the old and discredited opinions, such as that of A. T. Olmstead in his recent *Jesus in the Light of History.*[13]

It was only in the sixth century of the present era (525 A. D.) that the Scythian monk, Dionysius Exiguus, effectively worked out a chronological system referring all historical dating to the birth of Christ—B. C. and A. D.—thus dividing the history of the world by the momentous happening of the entrance of the Son of God into the course of human events.[14] It was a master stroke of Christian-mindedness. Unfortunately it was based on a miscalculation. The datings of Dionysius erred by at least four years. For he had equated the year one of the Christian era with the year 754 from the founding (legendary) of the city of Rome. The date he was aiming at was closer to the year 750 *ab Urbe condita.*[15]

[10] 4th ed. (London, 1920).

[11] *Journal of Roman Studies* (JRS), VII (1917), 229-283.

[12] E. g., by R. Syme in *Klio,* XXVII (1934), 131-133.

[13] New York, 1942. Cf. the review by C. H. Kraeling in the *Journal of Religion,* XXII (1942), 423-427.

[14] In his *Ep. ad Petron.* 61 (Migne, PL 67, 487), Dionysius justifies the change from the system based on the era of Diocletian or of the martyrs: "...noluimus circulis nostris memoriam impii et persecutoris innectere..." For his own system, cf. his *De Paschate* 1, 15 (PL LXVII, 497-499). See Jülicher, "Dionysius," in Pauly-Wissowa (P-W), *Realencyclopädie des classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1893 ff.), V, 998 f.; also, Wm. Kubitschek, *Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung* (Munich, 1928), pp. 61-62.

[15] There is still some confusion as to whether Dionysius meant 754 or 753 B. C. Cf. Jülicher, *loc. cit.* Dionysius erred in computing the beginning of the reign of Augustus from 727 a.U.c., the year in which Octavian assumed that title. His reign was usually computed from the battle of Actium, 732 a.U.c. (31 B.C.). There had been occasional datings based on the death of Christ, before Dionysius' time. Thus, E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* (3 vols., Berlin, 1924-1931), I, no. 2104, gives an inscription found at Sitis, of the year 452:

Pagan historical sources are not particularly helpful on the period surrounding Christ's birth;[16] nor are the writings of the early Church Fathers of much value on this point. Fortunately, however, the Jewish historian Josephus, who died after the year 93 A. D., supplies us with valuable leads. In both his *Antiquitates Judaicae* and *De Bello Judaico* he lays the foundation for the dating of Herod's reign, while furnishing some evidence for the earlier Roman census in Palestine.[17] More fortunately still, the archaeologists have come to our assistance, unearthing a number of indirectly pertinent Egyptian papyri, and several epigraphical monuments of more immediate relevance.[18]

In as far as the Gospel narrative is concerned, then, starting with St. Matthew's account of the activity of Herod and of his relations with the Magi, we have something like a point of reference in determining the year of Christ's birth. For although Josephus does not furnish us with an exact date for the death of King Herod, he does supply us with sufficient evidence to conclude that the king died about April 1, 4 B. C. Thus he tells us that Herod was named king by the Roman Senate in the consulship of "Cn. Domitius Cal-

"...p. mor[tem] dom. an. p. CCCXIII;" in II, no. 4677, he cites another found at Canusium of the year 529, beginning: "regnante domino nos[tro] Hiesum Christum..."

[16] For a discussion of the sources relating to this period of Roman history, cf. the *Camb. Anc. History*, X, 886 ff. As for the testimony of the Fathers, there is no general agreement pointing to a tradition among them, as was maintained by M. Hetzenauer, *Theologische praktische Quartalschrift*, XLIX (1896), 77 ff. Cf. H. Kellner, "Die patristische Tradition über das Geburtsjahr Christi," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, XV (1891), 518-533. U. Holzmeister, *Chronologia vitae Christi*, pp. 31-36, gives a complete survey, pointing out the obvious errors in computation made both by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian.

[17] The authority of Josephus as a historian is variable. However, on the times of Herod the Great he is particularly valuable in that he follows an eyewitness biographer of Herod, Nicolaus Damascenus. Cf. G. Hölscher, *Die Quellen des Josephus* (Leipzig, 1904); *id.*, P-W, IX, 1934-2000 (esp. 1981 ff.); T. Corbishley, "The Chronology of the Reign of Herod the Great," *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXVI (1935), 22-32.

[18] Cf. the records of the Egyptian census system as preserved in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. Grenfell and Hunt, (London, 1899), II, 207 ff.; also F. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (London, 1893), II, 19. For the monuments, see below, especially notes 45-54.

vinus II and G. Asinius Pollio," [19] that is, near the end of 40 B. C.; [20] but that the king did not subdue Jerusalem until September or October of 37 B. C.[21] He tells us also that, although Herod had the title of king for thirty-seven years, he had ceased to reign in his thirty-fourth year,[22] thus making it appear that he died in 3 B. C. But the Orientals used the cardinal numerals as if they were ordinal (e. g., the phrase *post tres dies* [Matt. 27: 63] really means *tertio die*). And on the basis of further evidence, it would seem that 4 B. C. is to be preferred. It is certain that Herod's three sons began to reign in 750 *a.U.c.*, that is 4 B.C.[23] Besides, Josephus mentions the fact that after seven days of mourning following the solemn burial rites for Herod the Pasch was upon them.[24] Thus these data can only be harmoniously arranged if we assume that the king died in the first days of April, 4 B. C., for the Pasch fell on April 12 of that year.[25]

Josephus further tells us that the king died of a lingering illness in Jericho, and that his death was preceded by an eclipse of the moon.[26] Now according to St. Matthew's account, Herod was still in Jerusalem upon the arrival of the Magi, and apparently in good health—else he could not have pretended to be going down to adore the newborn king. The eclipse mentioned by Josephus as preceding the king's death was either that of September 15, 5 B. C., or the partial eclipse of March 1, 4 B. C. For of the ten eclipses of the

[19] *Antiq.* 14, 14, 3-5.

[20] Cf. *Fasti consulares*, ed. W. Liebenam, Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* 41 (Bonn, 1909), p. 3.

[21] *Antiq.* 14, 15, 5; cf. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, I, 35-37.

[22] *Antiq.* 17, 8, 1.

[23] Cf. Schürer, *op. cit.*, I, 415 ff.

[24] *Antiq.* 17, 8, 4-9.

[25] C. F. Ginzel, *Handbuch der Chronologie* (Berlin, 1899), II, 572; U. Holzmeister, *Chronologia vitae Christi*, pp. 17-25.

[26] When word got round that Herod was grievously ill at Jericho, certain youths under the leadership of Matthias a scribe, pulled down the golden eagle which the king had set up in the Temple. Herod had them all burnt to death. That night there was an eclipse of the moon (*Antiq.* 17; 6, 5-9). Cf. Holzmeister, *op. cit.*, p. 23 ff.

moon that took place between 6 and 2 B. C., only these two were visible in Palestine.[27]

Josephus seems likewise to connect the beginning of Herod's illness with the sending of legates to Rome to accuse his son Antipater before the Roman Emperor.[28] This took place apparently in September or October 5 B. C.,[29] for the legates returned before Herod's death. Thus in accordance with Matthew's testimony, the Magi must have arrived in Jerusalem in or before the middle of 5 B. C.,[30] the king then being still in good health.

On turning to St. Luke, we find him almost consciously ruling out the assumption that the adoration of the Magi took place thirteen days after the Nativity—an inference many have tried to draw, relying on the accidental datings in the Latin liturgy.[31] The Evan-

[27] Th. Oppolzer, *Kanon der Finsternisse* (Vienna, 1887), p. 343, no. 1852-1862; cf. Holzmeister, *op. cit.*, p. 24, who prefers the eclipse of March 12 as the one referred to by Josephus, despite the objection that the number of events listed by Josephus as having happened between the eclipse and the Pasch would seem to require a longer time: e. g., the king's sickness growing acute, his transportation back to Jericho from the baths at Callirrhoe; his command that all the royal princes be assembled (to be done to death on his demise); finally, his own death, burial, and the seven days of mourning before the beginning of the Pasch (*Antiq.* 17, 6, 5-9). Cf. also T. Corbishley, "The Chronology of the Reign of Herod the Great," *JThS*, XXXVI (1935), 32.

[28] *Antiq.* 17, 6, 1-7; Antipater had been engaged in various plots to get rid of his father, but the king needed the assent of Caesar to put him to death.

[29] Herod died in April, 4 B. C. The return of the messengers from Rome preceded his death by a few days (*Antiq.* 17, 7, 1). Since it is hardly likely that they travelled during the winter period, the *tempus maris clausi*—November 11 to March 10 (cf. Vegetius, *Epitome rei militaris*, 4, 39)—they must have set off on their journey in September or early October, 5 B. C. At this time the king was still well. Cf. Holzmeister, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[30] On the background of the Magi and the possible astronomical reasons for their coming, cf. G. Messina, *Der Ursprung der Magier und die zarathustrische Religion* (Rome, 1930); *id., I Magi a Betlemme e una predizione di Zoroastro* (Rome, 1933).

[31] Some of the Fathers were apparently of the opinion that the Magi's coming followed closely on the Savior's birth; thus Justin, *Dialogus*, 77 (PG 6, 657); Chrysostom, *Hom. de Nat. Christi* (PG LVI, 391); Augustine, *Sermo 203* (PL XXXVIII, 1035): "ante dies xiii natus hodie traditus adoratus." Concerning the liturgical origins of Christmas and the Epiphany, see A. Strittmatter, "Christmas and Epiphany: Origins and Antecedents," *Thought*, XVII (1942), 600-626; B. Botte, *Les origines de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie* (Louvain, 1932).

gelist expressly remarks that Christ was presented in the Temple forty days after birth: "And when the days of her purification were fulfilled according to the Law of Moses, they took him up to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord . . ."[32] Now Mary and Joseph would hardly have ventured into Jerusalem, had Herod already been informed of the birth of the newborn king through the Magi. But more pertinently, the journey to and from Egypt demanded at least fourteen days each way.[33] It would thus have been quite impossible for Joseph and Mary to have fled into Egypt immediately after the adoration by the Magi, to have remained there some time, and to have returned to Jerusalem in time for the presentation, forty days after Christ's birth. It seems, then, that the arrival of the Magi took place at least two months after the birth of the Savior, pushing that event back towards 6 B. C.

A slight difficulty arises because St. Luke, in recording the presentation in the Temple, goes on to say that Christ's parents returned into Galilee, to their home town of Nazareth.[34] He makes no mention of the Magi, nor of the time spent in Egypt. But Matthew does mention both.[35] Hence it is not proper to conclude that Luke means a direct return to Nazareth immediately after the presentation. Rather, Matthew's account must be dovetailed in with Luke's narrative, making the proper sequence of events somewhat as follows: the birth of the Savior in Bethlehem; the presentation in the Temple; a return to Bethlehem, probably to a more suitable home; the adoration by the Magi; the flight into Egypt; and finally, the return of the Holy Family to Nazareth in Galilee, shortly after the death of Herod.[36] All this points to a period of time of at least a year

[32] Luke 2: 22. According to the Mosaic Law (Leviticus 12: 3 ff) a mother was unclean for seven days after the birth of a son. She had to remain at home for another thirty-three days thereafter.

[33] Holzmeister, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[34] Luke 2: 39.

[35] Matt. 2: 14; 15, 19-23.

[36] As somewhat of a background and parallel for this sequence of events, cf. the article by P. Gaechter, "The Chronology from Mary's Betrothal to the Birth of Christ," *Theological Studies*, II (1941), 145-170; 347-368. Father Gaechter maintains the opinion that Joseph on discovering Mary's condition ("she was found, before they came together, to be with child by the Holy

and a half to two years before the death of Herod for the date of the Savior's birth. This conclusion seems to be bolstered by the fact that Herod ordered all the children of two years and under, living in Bethlehem, to be massacred.[37]

St. Luke, for his part, connects the birth of Christ with the Roman governor Cyrinus (Quirinius), and the Roman census levied in Syria as part of a world-wide enrollment—two points that have given rise to interminable dispute among modern historians.[38] St. Luke's is thus far the only indisputable evidence that Cyrinus was in Syria sometime before 4 B. C.[39] However, Tacitus, reporting

Spirit"), had decided to leave Nazareth permanently. Hence he welcomed the decree of the census as providential, deciding to set up his residence in Bethlehem. Arriving there about November, 8 B. C., he set up his home in a cave and set about looking for work and a more suitable abode. Mary at the time was in the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy. When her time arrived—March or April 7 B. C.—Joseph sought a more propitious place for the birth of her child. At that moment, the small one-room inn of the town was occupied. Hence they had to retire to a cave nearby, which served as a stable to the inn. Here the child was born. They returned to their own place the following day. The arguments for this sequence are ingeniously worked out; they seem, however, to depend on too many unverifiable probabilities.

[37] Incidentally, some of the Fathers (contrary to those cited in note 30) place the adoration of the Magi in the second year of Christ's life; thus Eusebius, *Quest. ad Steph.* 16, 2 (PG XXII, 933); *Epiphanius, Adv. Haer.* 20, 2 (PG XLI, 275). See Holzmeister, *op. cit.*, p. 28. The art of the first centuries of the Christian era agrees in depicting the Child as sitting on the knees of its mother, indicating that He was somewhat more than a newborn baby on the Magi's arrival. Cf. J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten von 4-13 Jahrhundert* (4 vols, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917), II, 769.

[38] Besides the work of Ramsay and Mommsen already referred to (e.g., notes 7 and 11 above) this article is based for the most part on the following: Bleckmann, "Die erste syrische Stattshalterschaft des P. Sulpicius Quirinius," *Klio*, XVII (1921), 104-112; Dessau, "Zu den neuen Inschriften des Sulp. Quirinius," *ibid.* 252-258; Groag, "Prosopographische Beiträge VII, M. Plautius Silvanus," *Jahreshefte des oest. archäol. Inst. in Wien*, XXII-XXIV (1922-24), *Beiblatt*, 445-447; *id.*, "P. Sulp. Quirinius," P-W, II. Reihe, 7. Halbband (1931), 822 ff. (no. 90); L. R. Taylor, "Quirinius and the Census of Judea," *Amer. Jour. of Phil.* LIV (1933), 120 ff.; R. Syme, "Galatia and Pamphylia under Augustus," *Klio*, XXVII (1934), 131-139; T. Corbishley, "A Note on the Date of the Syrian Governorship of M. Titius," *JRS*, XXIV (1934), 43-49; *id.*, "Quirinius and the Census," *Klio*, XXIX (1936), 81-93.

[39] Luke 2: 1-3: "Now it came to pass in those days, that there went forth a decree from Caesar Augustus that a census of the whole world should be

the speech which Tiberius made in the Senate on the occasion of the death of Cyrinus in 21 A. D., outlines his career as follows:

> [Quirinius] ortus apud municipium Lanuvium, impiger militiae et acribus ministeriis consulatum sub divo Augusto mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphi adeptus, datusque rector C. Caesari Armeniam obtenti ....[40]

As for the Homonadensians, in 25 B. C. news had reached Augustus that Amyntas, king of Galatia, had been killed by this tribe of Cilician brigands, and that previously this king had made the Roman Empire his heir.[41] A war of vengeance was then proposed against the Homonadensians,[42] but it did not come off until after 12 B. C., the year of the consulship of Cyrinus in Syria.[43] It is also known that the C. Caesar referred to by Tacitus was in Armenia between 1 and 2 A. D. Hence Cyrinus must have been engaged in the Homonadensian War sometime between 12 and 1 B. C. But as to his capacity in the prosecution of the war—whether as legate in Syria, proconsul in Asia, or governor of Pamphylia—there is no general agreement.[44]

taken. This first census took place while Cyrinus was governor of Syria. And all were going, each to his own town, to register." Josephus (*Antiq.* 18, 1) introducing Cyrinus as governor in 6 A. D. makes no mention of a former governorship. But to draw an *argumentum ex silentio* from this omission would be hazardous in the face of at least cumulative evidence that we now possess for the prior governorship.

[40] Tacitus, *Ann.*, 3, 48.

[41] Strabo, 12, 6, 1-5, and Dio Cassius, 9, 32 and 53, 26, indicate the extent of territory thus incorporated into the Empire.

[42] The evidence for this war is scanty: besides Dio Cassius and Strabo mentioned above, cf. Tacitus, *Ann.*, 3, 48. Pliny mentions it only indirectly in *Nat. Hist.*, 5, 49.

[43] Groag, *op. cit.*, col. 825 ff.

[44] R. Syme, *Klio*, XXVII (1934), 131 ff., suggests that the territory inherited from King Amyntas had been erected into a province combining Galatia and Pamphylia, and that Cyrinus fought the war as consular legate over that territory. Groag, *Jahreshefte des oesterreichlichen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, (*loc. cit.*), maintained that Cyrinus must have been acting as pro-consul in Asia for the war; Dessau, *Römische Kaiserzeit* (Berlin, 1930), II, 2, 612, n. 4, suggests that he was governor in Pamphylia. As T. Corbishley points out, *Klio*, XXIX (1936), 85-86, the very divergence of view on the part of these

Until recently, Mommsen's view that Cyrinus was governor in Syria from 3-2 B. C. was generally accepted, a view based upon his interpretation of the Tiburtine inscription. This fragment, found near Tivoli in 1764, had been restored by Mommsen as follows:[45]

> [*r*]egem, qua redacta in pot [*estatem imp. Caesaris*]
> Augusti populique Romani senatu[*s dis immortalibus*]
> supplicationes binas ob res prosp [*ere gestas et*]
> ipsi ornamenta triumph [*alia decrevit;*]
> pro consul. Asiam provinciam op [*tinuit; legatus pr. pr.*]
> divi Augusti iterum Syriam et Ph[*oenicen optinuit.*]

Following a suggestion of San Clemente, Mommsen decided that the eminent personage thus described must have been Cyrinus. The two supplications and the grant of *ornamenta* had been voted for services having to do with a *rex*. This would suit Amyntas and the conquest of the Homonadensians. Mommsen therefore restored the sentence which breaks off before the word [*r*]egem, thus:

> [*Bellum gessit cum gente Homonadensium quae interfecerat Amyntam r*]egem . . .

This was a reasonable conjecture. At the end of the inscription, moreover, the governorship in Syria is apparently mentioned:

> . . . *legatus pr. pr.*]
> divi Augusti iterum Syriam et Ph[*oenicen optinuit.*]

outstanding historians tends to weaken their opposition to the testimony of St. Luke; for Luke tells us that about this time Cyrinus was governor in Syria. Considering the fact that Tacitus uses *per Ciliciam* (some have emended it to *super*) in referring to Cyrinus' command for the Homonadensian war, he goes on to call attention to the close connection between Syria and Cilicia at this time, and to the extremely wide military competence enjoyed under Augustus by the governors in Syria (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 2, 78, 86; 6, 31, 41; 12, 55). Thus in 27 B. C. Augustus had sent a *legatus pro praetore* of consular rank there, combining Syria with Cilicia (cf. Anderson, *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, X, 276). Agrippa had had very wide powers there from 17-13 B. C.; and from 6-4 B. C., Quintilius Varus had at least three legions under his command (Tac. *Ann.*, 3, 5; cf. Ritterling, "legio," P-W. XII, 1517 and 1587). It is likewise almost certain that Cyrinus had one Syrian legion under him during the Homonadensian campaign (cf. Syme, *JRS*, XIII [1923], 24).

[45] Mommsen, *Res Gestae* . . ., pp. 161-178: also printed in Dessau, *Inscript. Lat Select.*, no. 918.

The word *iterum* induced him to believe that the governorship here recorded was a second governorship in Syria. Cyrinus is known to have governed Syria in 6 A. D.[46] Therefore he must have had an earlier governorship. The only date that seemed possible to Mommsen was that of 3-2 B. C.

Sir William Ramsay accepted Mommsen's interpretation of the Tiburtine fragment. But on the basis of milestones discovered along the Via Sebaste linking the Roman colonies in Lycaonia to Antioch in Pisidia, which could be dated as of 6 B. C., he concluded that the Homonadensian War was fought before that date.[47] He contends that the existence of these milestones and of the Roman road conclusively proves that the Homonadensian war had already been fought, and the territory pacified; else it would not have been possible to have started extensive road-building, etc.[48] Ramsay thus

[46] Jos., *Antiq.* 17, 13, 5.

[47] For the inscriptions, see *C I L*, III, 6974. Cf. Ramsay, "Some Notes on the Province Galatia," *JRS*, VII (1917), 273-274.

[48] See also, Cheesman, *JRS*, III (1913), 253 ff. Torr in *Rev. Arch.*, XII (1920), 155, cast some doubt upon the value of this evidence offered by Ramsay. But Groag accepted Ramsay's view: "Torrs Widerspruch . . . ist nicht genügend begründet," *op. cit.*, col. 931). And though Syme in *Klio*, XXVII (1934), 131 ff, has offered extensive geographical and military considerations against the acceptance of Ramsay's thesis, general opinion seems thus far to accept it. Thus, T. Broughton, "Some Notes on the War with the Homonadeis," *Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, LIV (1933), 134-144, offered new evidence, unconsidered by Syme, in confirmation of Ramsay. There are a number of general considerations that seem likewise to support Ramsay. The Homonadensian incident, that is, the killing of King Amyntas, had taken place in 25 B. C. As this king had made the Roman state his heir, Augustus felt obliged to avenge his death. It seems peculiar that although, as Cheesman suggested, Antioch was probably founded at this time to keep the trouble within reasonable limits (*op. cit.*, p. 254), Augustus did not get round to an avenging expedition until in the neighborhood of 12 B. C. Yet when we remember that it was only by 14 B. C. that he finally completed an extensive survey of the Empire, and then embarked upon a defensive settlement of the frontier problems, as is indicated by the number of wars he prosecuted following 14 B. C., and, for example, by the absorption of the *Ligures Comati* (Dio 54, 24), into the imperial system, the Homonadensian expedition quite naturally falls into position about 10 B. C. (Cf. Corbishley, *Klio*, XXIX [1936], 85-86). Syme himself hesitates in dating the war, seeing no reason why it could not have been fought before 6 B. C. (*op. cit.*, p. 133).

placed the governorship of Cyrinus in Syria between 12 and 7 B. C.[49] Dessau, however, began to have doubts about even attributing the Tiburtine inscription to Cyrinus,[50] and Groag has since vigorously attacked Mommsen's whole position.[51]

Furthermore, Corbishley, while suspending judgment as to the relevance of the inscription, has insisted that Mommsen was too dogmatic in asserting that there was no gap in our list of governors in Syria from 12 to 4 B. C. He maintains that Mommsen's original list is based on an error in Josephus, and adduces evidence to prove that M. Titius need not have been at Antioch (as governor) any later than 12 B. C. Mommsen had said he was there "about 10 B. C." Hence there would be time for the governorship of Cyrinus from 11 to 8 B. C.[52] Finally Corbishley points out that, though there may be room for doubt as to the proper attribution of the Tiburtine fragment, no better candidate than Cyrinus has yet been found.[53]

At the same time, R. Syme has deprecated the use of the *Lapis tiburtinus* as confusing the issue.[54] And in a way his contention is

[49] Ramsay suggested that it might be possible to regard Cyrinus as co-governor with one of the already existing governors, perhaps Sentius Saturninus (8-6 B. C.). Cf. his *Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, p. 278 ff. But this solution did not sit well with the historians, despite parallels offered.

[50] *Römische Gesch.*, II, 2, 612, n. 4.

[51] *Jahresh. des oest. archäol. Instituts*, XXII-XXIV, pp. 445 ff.

[52] "A Note on the Date of the Syrian Governorship of M. Titius," *JRS*, XXIV (1934), 43-49.

[53] "Quirinius and the Census," *Klio*, XXIX (1936), 83-84. The inscription referring to Caristanius Fronto, the prefect of Cyrinus at Antioch, does not help in establishing the dating (cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 285 f.). However, recalling the *lapis Venetus* (printed in *C I L*, V, 136; Dessau, 2683; championed by Mommsen, *Ephemeris epigraphica*, IV (1880), 537 ff.) for brief notice, Corbishley suggests that it is unbelievably clumsy, if a forgery; that the minor deviations from normality found in the Latinity should rather be taken as a sign of authenticity. He believes that the line "*idem missu Quirini adversus Ituraeos in Libano monte castellum eorum cepi*," could easily be a reference to the strong measures taken against the subjects of Herod who had revolted in 12 B. C. under Syllaeus, and who had plundered both Judea and Coele-Syria (Jos., *Antiq.* 16, 275).

[54] "Galatia and Pamphylia under Augustus," *Klio*, XXVII (1934), 131-133.

fair enough. If the fragment were proven to refer to Cyrinus, it would furnish confirmatory evidence of the two governorships in Syria; but it still would not help us to date the Homonadensian War, nor the census of which St. Luke speaks. That Evangelist, however, assures us that Cyrinus was governing Syria at the time when an edict ordering the enrollment of the inhabitants of Palestine went forth.[55] Had Tacitus or Dio Cassius made this statement, few scholars would hesitate in affirming that this must have coincided with his prosecution of the Homonadensian war. Hence it seems quite unscientific and unhistorical not to use Luke's testimony, at least with regard to the governorship and the census, particularly since we know that he was all but a contemporary of the event. He expressly mentions a careful historical inquiry on his part,[56] and, as will be seen, he has been proven reliable on a number of other details of Roman provincial administration.[57]

There is still the census of which St. Luke speaks, again a matter of interminable dispute, but one which now stands on rather well supported evidence, particularly archaeological. It used to be contended that a census would never have been taken up in Palestine while Herod was king; hence Luke's "census" could not have occurred before 4 B. C.[58] But now we know that Herod as a client

[55] Luke 2: 2. Augustus possessed the right of issuing edicts to all the provinces in virtue of the *imperium maius* which he received in 23 B. C. according to Dio Cassius. This allegation of Dio's had been challenged; but it has since been confirmed by the discovery of several edicts of the Emperor Augustus at Cyrene, of the years 7-6 B. C. Cf. M. R. P. McGuire, "The Edicts of the Emperor Augustus Discovered at Cyrene," *Georgetown Law Review*, XX (1932), 125-133.

[56] Luke 1: 1-3: "Inasmuch as many have undertaken to draw up a narrative concerning the things that have been fulfilled among us, even as they who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, have handed them down to us, I also have determined, *after following up all things carefully from the very first*, to write for thee."

[57] Thus, the possibility of the census itself, and the necessity of returning to one's place of origin, etc. Luke's value as a source for the details of Roman provincial administration is only beginning to be appreciated.

[58] It was maintained that Luke had antedated the census of 6 A. D., which was certainly taken up by Cyrinus (Jos., *Antiq.* 18, 1, 1), despite the fact that Luke himself mentions this census in Acts 5: 37. Cf. Mommsen, *Res Gestae* .... p. 177: "...censum ex Quirinii administratione posteriore [Lukas] trans-

king was a mere subject of the Empire, bound in every respect by the regulations made for subject peoples.[59] Josephus even mentions an occasion when the "whole people took an oath of fidelity to Caesar, and the king's affairs",[60] an event which took place, it seems, somewhere between 9 and 7 B. C., and which could readily have been upon the occasion of the Judean census.

It was also once maintained that the Romans did not enroll subject peoples. Now we possess incontrovertible evidence that the Romans did enroll subject peoples, and that in many instances, especially in the East, it was necessary to return to one's place of origin to be counted[61]—details in full accord with the data offered by St. Luke. At this particular time—between 12 and 8 B. C.—the whole world was being enrolled. It is true that we do not possess the actual decree of which St. Luke speaks. But Dio Cassius speaks of Augustus making a tax return on all his own property in 11 B. C., as a private citizen.[62] There was an imperial census in process in Egypt in 10-9 B. C.[63] And there are strong indications of a census

tulit in priorem." In a recent study, Lily R. Tayolr expresses an interesting change of position regarding this question: "...he [Luke] may be right in saying that a census of Judea took place in the days of Herod, for which everyone was commanded to return to his own city. It is perhaps not impossible that this census was part of an enrolment of all the population of the Roman world." Cf. her "Quirinius and the Census of Judea," *Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, LIV (1933), 133.

[59] For example, in the year 8 B. C., after a military excursion of Herod, the Emperor wrote to him that, "whereas before he had treated him as a friend, he would henceforth treat him as a subject." Cf. Jos., *Antiq.*, 16, 290.

[60] *Ibid.*, 17, 42.

[61] Cf. L. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 131. Luke's statement (2: 3): "And all were going, each to his own town, to register," has significant parallels in Egyptian census records. Cf. Wilcken, *Papyruskunde*, I, 192-196; also the articles "laographia" and "laographos" in P-W, XII, 732 f and 734, respectively.

[62] Dio 54, 35.

[63] This is the opinion of Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyr. Papy.*, II, 207 ff; cf. also, F. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the Brit. Mus.*, II, 19. Miss Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 132, points out a curious correspondence noticeable between this highly probable census of 8 B. C. and the regular fourteen year cycle as of the Ptolemean and Seleucid kingdoms. This would have been the first time Judea was brought in with Syria in the enrolment; hence Luke's *prōtē*.

going on in Dalmatia, Gaul, and Cyrene about the same time.[64]

We know, besides, that in the first century after Christ, a census of the tributary peoples was taken up every fourteen years—we have parts of the record for the 19-20, 33-34, 47-48 census.[65] Consequently it is not rash to conclude that the provincial census which Luke calls the *first* and which he mentions as part of a general enrolment, was taken up in the year 9-8 or 8-7 B. C. This is the census under which Christ was born.

It is generally known that Tertullian (*ca.* 160-220?), who spent some time as a lawyer in Rome, and who, presumably had some knowledge of the imperial archives, refers to the census taken up under Augustus in Judea, and that he attributes it to Sentius Saturninus. What is not generally known, however, is that Tertullian makes not one but four references to this census:

1. [Christus] fuit enim de patria Bethlehem et de domo David, sicut apud Romanos in censu descripta est Maria.[66]
2. [Census Augusti] quem testem fidelissimum dominicae nativitatis Romana archiva costodiunt.[67]
3. . . . sed et census constat esse actos sub Augusto tum in Judaea per Sentium Saturninum.[68]
4. . . . aufer hinc, inquit (Marcion), molestos semper Caesaris census et diversoria angusta et sordidos pannos et dura praesepia.[69]

[64] For Dalmatia, cf. Dio, 54, 34 and 36; for Gaul, *ibid.* (also Liv., *Ep.* 137). The Cyrene decrees are conclusive evidence of an enrolment in that province sometime before 7 B. C. Cf. Stroux and Wenger, *Abhandl. d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, XXXIV, 2, p. 97; also L. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 132, esp. n. 37.

[65] Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyr. Papy.*, II, 207 ff.; cf. J. J. O'Rourke, *Verbum Domini*, I (1921), 206-211. There is still some doubt as to whether the 5-6 A. D. census is really referred to in these fragments, though the fragment, *Pap. Oxyr.* 256, seems to belong to this year. However, a papyrus for the years 11-12 (II, 288) makes mention of an *epikrisis* that seems to refer back to the census of 5-6 A. D. The fourteen-year cycle of tax assessments seems to be based on the fact that there was an *exactio capitum* attached to the census and imposed on those of fourteen years and up. In the 11-12 A. D. accounts, room is made for re-adjustments and exemptions; hence the reference to the *epikrisis*. Cf. O'Rourke, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[66] Tert., *Adv. Judaeos*, 9 (PL II, 663).

[67] *Adv. Marcionem*, 4, 7 (PL II, 393).

[68] *Ibid.*, 4, 19 (PL II, 344).

[69] *De carne Christi*, 2 (PL II, 800).

The last three of these quotations are in refutation of Marcion, who maintained that the whole story of Christ's birth was a myth. Hence in calling the *archiva Romana* to witness, Tertullian is not admitting any mistake in Luke's story. The fact that he does not allude to the discrepancy between his account and that of St. Luke points to an obvious way out of the apparent difficulty. After all, Luke does say that the decree commanding the census was issued *while* Cyrinus was governor in Syria.[70] He does not say that the census was taken up *by* Cyrinus. Hence it could readily have been that Cyrinus started the census, and that Saturninus completed it; or even, that the decree came out while Cyrinus was governor, but the actual registration was only put into effect under Saturninus.[71] Whatever may be the actual solution, it is now quite certain that there was a census in Judea between 9 and 7 B. C., and that Cyrinus was in Syria around this time. This is all that is necessary to bear out St. Luke on the date of Christ's birth.[72]

Various attempts have been made to settle the date of Christ's birth by means of astronomical data. L. Peserico and Bedeus von Scharberg[73] are among the more recent authors who have tried to

[70] Luke 2: 2: "This first census took place *while Cyrinus was governor of Syria.*" Luke was aware of the census of 6 A. D. which was also carried out under Cyrinus in Syria (Acts 5: 37). Hence his use of the word πρώτη to distinguish between the two. M.-J. Lagrange had suggested that the πρώτη here was equivalent to the comparative πρότερος; hence he would have the sentence read: "this census took place *before* Cyrinus was governor . . . (*Revue Biblique,* 20 (1911), 80 ff). This interpretation has been generally rejected as philologically untenable.

[71] It seems highly probably that Saturninus came on as governor of Syria in the summer of 8 B. C. (T. Corbishley, *JRS,* XXIV [1934], 48). As this was the first Roman enrolment of its kind in Syria, it may have taken a considerable time to get the whole census machinery set up. Hence the enrolment may not have been completed by the time Saturninus took office.

[72] J. Sickenberger, in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* II, (1932), 330-331, gives 6-5 B. C. as the date for the birth. Strangely, he elects to disregard all the so-called "secular" evidence for the dating, relying almost entirely on what he considers the internal evidence of the Gospels themselves.

[73] L. Peserico, *Quanto tempo visse Cristo* (Vicenza, 1920), p. 79; Bedeus von Scharberg, *Die Chronologie des Lebens Jesu* I, 2 (Hermannstadt, 1928-1929), 77, 186.

identify the star of the Magi with Halley's comet, thus placing the date of the birth in 12 B. C., since Halley's comet was visible in 11 B. C. Following Kepler's original computation, a larger number of modern authors look upon the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 7 B. C., in the constellation Pisces, as a better natural phenomenon for explaining the Magi's star. These planets were in conjunction three times that year—according to J. Hontheim, on May 29, October 4, and December 5.[74] The most recent Catholic author favoring the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 7 B. C. as a possibility for the Magi's star is Gerhard Hauptmann, S.J.[75]

But such endeavors appear rather futile. It seems impossible that any star, conjunction of planets, or even a comet known to astronomical reckoning could have performed the functions required of the Magi's star, as of Matthew 2: 9: the "going before them," and particularly, the "standing over the place where the child was." The best of modern astronomer-exegetes call for a miraculous comet or a meteor miraculously guided, to fit the Gospel facts—thus, J. G. Hagen,[76] F. X. Kugler,[77] and J. Schaumberger.[78] The last named maintains that there was no identification of either Saturn or the constellation Pisces with Israel before the Middle Ages, nor does what is known of Assyrian astrology lend much plausibility to the attempt to connect the Magi with this conjunction.[79]

[74] J. Hontheim, "Die Konjunctionen des Jupiter und Saturn im Jahre 7 v. Chr.", *Katholik*, iv-38 (1908, II), 187-195. Cf. F. X. Steinmetzer, *Neutestamentische Abhandlungen*, II, 1-2 (Münster, 1911), 84-109; *id.*, "Der Stern von Bethlehem," *Biblische Zeitfragen*, VI, 3 (Münster, 1913).

[75] "Das astronomische Ereignis 1940-1941 und der Stern der Weisen," *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXXXVIII (1941), 234-238.

[76] J. G. Hagen, "Stella Magorum," *Lexikon Biblicum*, III (Paris, 1905), 1070-1075.

[77] F. X. Kugler, "Der Stern von Bethlehem," *Stimmen der Zeit*, LXXXIII (1912), 481 ff.

[78] J. Schaumberger, "Stern des Weisens," *LThK*, IX (1936), 814-815.

[79] Curiously, A. Olmstead in "The Chronology of Jesus' Life," *Anglican Theological Review*, 24 (1942), 1-26, after adducing evidence to prove that the Magi's star was the Jupiter of 7 B. C.—independent of the conjunction that took place that year—goes on to maintain that Christ was born in 20 B. C. He contends that the true reading of the Magi's report is that they had seen

Naturally, the date of Christ's birth has a bearing upon His age at the time of His entry upon His public ministry, and particularly, at the time of His death.[80] The popular concept of thirty-three years as our Savior's life span is all but untenable. Even were one to take the year 30 A. D. as that of His death, placing his birth in the year 7 or 6 B. C. would have made Him at least thirty-five or thirty-six. There is even some further indication in the Gospels and in tradition that He may have been closer to forty.[81]

In summary, then, Josephus helps us to put the date of Herod's death in 4 B. C. The Magi's coming to Jerusalem found that king in good health. Hence their coming must have been previous to September, 5 B. C., when presumably the king was still well. Al-

the star not "in the East," but "in its rising"; hence at the same time as the rising of the sun. This would bring it into the astronomical reckonings of the Babylonians. He then explains "the star going before them" by the nightly shift of apparent position in the heavens. Likewise, the star "stood over the Child," he considers an exact reproduction of the Akkadian *izazu* ("stand still"), by which is meant the two periods of opposition, when to the naked eye, for about four days, the planet does not appear to change its position in the celestial vault. Cf. his "Babylonian Astronomy: Historical Sketch," *Amer. Jour. of Sem. Lang.*, LV (1938), 113 ff. He finds a striking parallel to Matthew's story in recently discovered letters from the last days of the Assyrian Esarhaddon. However, as J. Schaumberger has already pointed out, there is no particular reason for seeking a portent in Israel in connection with the conjunction of 7 B. C., or with Jupiter. There is no trace of an identification of Israel with the constellation Pisces before the Middle Ages; nor is there any such suggestion in the recently discovered cuneiform texts wherein among the constellations of 7 B. C. the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn is predicted. Cf. *LThK*, IX (1936), 814-815.

[80] On the date of Christ's death, opinions are rather well divided between the years 30 and 33 A. D. The years 28, 29, 31, 32 and 34 have been eliminated by a host of astronomical observations and computations having to do with the appearance of the spring new moon; hence with the dating of the first of the month of Nisan. The whole problem is extremely complicated, due to an apparent discrepancy between the testimony of the Synoptics and that of St. John. Cf. Holzmeister, *Chronologia vitae Christi*, pp. 156-222.

[81] Especially in John 8: 57, wherein the Synedrists reproach Christ for claiming to have seen Abraham: "Thou art not yet fifty years old . . ." St. Irenaeus seems to have been the first to have claimed that Christ was approaching fifty when he died (*Adv. Haer*, 2, 22, 4-6, PG VII, 783-786), though his chronology is quite faulty. Cf. J. Curran, "St. Irenaeus and the Dates of the Synoptics, *Cath. Bibl. Quarterly*, V (1943), 160-187, esp. 170-175.

lowing time for the Magi's journey, for the presentation of the Child in the Temple, for the adoration by the Magi and the flight into Egypt, and remembering, likewise, that Herod massacred the children of two years and under, we are carried back to 6 or even 7 B. C. Finally, St. Luke's testimony concerning Cyrinus and the census, backed up by Tertullian's statement concerning Saturninus, puts a cap on the upper level at 8 B. C. Sometime, then, between 8 and 6 B. C. the Savior was born into the world. Unsatisfactory though it may be, until modern research discovers new evidence this is as close as historical record will justify us in gauging the date.[82]

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[82] The question as to the month and day of the birth is thus far impossible of solution; cf. Holzmeister, *op. cit.*, 36-39.

THE PERSONNEL OF THE EARLY ENGLISH DOMINICAN PROVINCE

A ZEALOUS, efficient, and well instructed personnel is of the utmost importance in a religious Order. Its absence can nullify the inspiration, the spirit, and the organization of the Order, while its presence gives these added strength and renders them fruitful in many spheres of activity. A study of the personnel of the English Dominican Province during the thirteenth century should give some indication of its influence on the trends and movements of the times,[1] and should permit some estimate of its share in the fruitfulness and vigor of the whole Order, which, still in the first century of its existence, was experiencing its best period.

In pursuing our subject, the paucity of source material allows us to reconstruct nothing more than a rough outline, much as an artist might succeed in rescuing from oblivion only the main lines of a mediaeval wall painting; in imagination alone, by conjecture and surmise, can we recover the lost details. Our inquiry will deal with two main problems:[2] 1) the recruitment of new members. What motives influenced candidates in seeking admittance? What types of men were admitted? How were new members secured? 2) the membership of English Dominican priories. How many Dominicans were there in England, in the various priories, in the different parts of the country? How many were available for the activities of the Province?

I. The Recruitment of New Members

Candidates entered the Order of Preachers for a variety of reasons. Many were drawn by its preaching. Jordan of Saxony, for

[1] Cf. our article "Diplomatic Activities of the English Dominicans in the Thirteenth Century," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVIII (1942), 309-39, where we attempted to weigh this influence from a different point of view.

[2] Because of limited space it has not been possible to include in the present study a treatment of the economic side of English Dominican life. I hope to develop this aspect of the problem in a future article.

example, was attracted to the Order by the preaching of Reginald of Orleans.[3] Some were attracted by the Order's devotion to learning. Humbert of Romans states that many would never have become Dominicans if the friars had not cultivated learning.[4] Others sought admission from a desire to do penance or to escape the dangers to their spiritual advancement which they felt existed in the world. Guerric of St. Quentin, who attained great proficiency in philosophy, medicine, and the natural sciences, became a Dominican after some sobering reflections on the fleeting nature of life and the inevitability of death.[5] Bartholomew of Grimstone, an Englishman, had a vision of the judgment in which he escaped punishment only by hiding himself among the Dominicans who had recently come to Cambridge. As a result he joined the Order, laboring within its ranks for twenty-five years. Our informant professes to have had the story from Bartholomew himself on his deathbed.[6] Richard of Stratford, who seems to have been a pluralist of somewhat doubtful character, may have entered the Order to make amends for his previous life.[7] Nicholas Trivet mentions a "certain scholar of Bologna, well-educated but entirely given over to vanity," who entered the Order to begin a better life.[8] Again, we have

[3] *Libellus Iordani de Saxonia* (Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica, abbr. M.O.P.H., XVI), p. 57, no. 69: Interea fratre Reginaldo felicis recordationis veniente Parisius et strenue predicante, ego divina preventus gratia concepti et vovi intra memetipsum ordinem istum assumere, arbitrans securam me reperisse salutis semitam, qualem et ante fratrum cognitionem in animo meo sepe deliberando conceperam.

[4] *Opera de vita Regulari* (ed. J. J. Berthier, Rome, 1888-89), II, 28: Multae enim bonae personae, propter amorem quem habent ad scientiam, nunquam intrassent, nec adhuc intrarent Ordinem, nisi fuisset apud nos studium; ....

[5] *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum* ed. B. Reichert, (M.O.P.H., I), pp. 176-77.

[6] *Royal MS. 7 D. 1*, f. 108b; cf. J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances* (London, 1910), III, 185.

[7] *Registrum Epistolarum Johannis Peckham* (Rolls Series), II, 541-43: .... diversarum ecclesiarum etiam nostri patronatus bona rapuit et consumpsit. He adds that information given him by Kilwardby concerning the life and deeds of Stratford were enough to justify his deprivation of any ecclesiastical property.

[8] Trivet, *Annales*, pp. 224-25: Scholaris quidam Bononiensis bene instructus sed vanitati admodum deditus.

the case of Walter Mauclere, Bishop of Carlisle, who joined the Dominicans at Oxford, according to Matthew Paris, "because he feared that his admission to that bishopric was not lawful."[9]

The candidates who sought admission to the Order fall into two classes: those who were mature, had finished their theological course, and were already priests; and those who were youths still in their teens, requiring at least part of their training within the Order. In the first class we can place Roland of Cremona, "mature scholar in the physical sciences, a noted doctor of philosophy," who entered the Order at Bologna.[10] The English Province was also able to claim such men. Robert Bacon and Richard of Dunstable, who had been associated with St. Edmund of Abingdon for ten years, were accomplished men when they entered the Order. Robert Bacon, an outstanding theologian, also versed in the other branches of knowledge and an accomplished preacher, became the first Dominican master at Oxford, while Richard was elected to the office of prior at the same house.[11] The dramatic entrance of John of St. Giles, master of theology and experienced physician, to the Order occurred in Paris on September 22, 1230. While he was preaching a sermon on poverty he interrupted his discourse to receive the Dominican habit. Then returning to the pulpit he finished his sermon. Later he went back to England, where he became a prominent figure.[12] Thomas Sutton, an Oxford master toward the end

[9] *Chronica majora* (R.S.), IV, 564.

[10] *Vitae Fratrum*, p. 26. On Roland, cf. E. Filthaut, O.P., *Roland von Cremona O.P. und die Anfänge der Scholastik im Predigerorden* (Vechta in O., 1936).

[11] *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica majora* (R.S.), V, 16. Trivet, *Annales*, p. 229. A. B. Emden, *An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times* (Oxford, 1927), p. 296 (Letter of the University petitioning the canonization of Edmund of Abington). W. Wallace, *St. Edmund of Canterbury* (London, 1893), p. 561. J. Russell, *Writers of Thirteenth Century England* (London, 1936), pp. 130-31. For Bacon as first Dominican master at Oxford, cf. F. Pelster, "Die älteste Sentenzenkommentar aus der Franziskanerschule," *Scholastik*, I (1926), 54. For Richard of Dunstable, cf. Emden, *loc. cit.*; Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[12] Trivet, *Annales*, pp. 211-12; *Vitae Fratrum*, p. 327; Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-5. What may be the extract of John's sermon has been edited by M. M. Davy, *Les sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230-1231* (Paris, 1931), pp. 272-76.

of the century, may have been a fellow of Merton College before becoming a Dominican.[13] The Order also drew a few candidates from the older monastic orders, as Matthew Paris admits:

> About this time, some religious men, wavering in their fickleness of mind, and following the example of the bishop of Hereford, although not knowing his reasons (for he was bound by a vow), went over to the new and unknown order of Preachers and Minorites, forgetful of the saying of the prophet, "He hath appointed for him the way he has chosen." The abbot of Oseney, in the pusillanimity of his mind, abandoned the order of that great teacher Augustine, and passed over to the Minorite order, wishing to try the novelty. The abbot of Walden, also, who carried the cross of our Lord in anguish, under the rule of the order of St. Benedict, seeing his house loaded with debt, sank into the depths of despair, and, without the knowledge of his house or his monks, shamelessly and suddenly seceded to the order of Preachers; but of this he afterwards repented.[14]

But the Order at times lost some of its members who felt that its life was too strict. In 1244, for example, the English Provincial received a papal letter instructing him to grant a dispensation to Robert de Fornvali, of noble birth, permitting him to pass to the Order of St. Augustine, as his health could not endure the hardships of the Dominican rule.[15]

Candidates of the second class were those who entered the Order in their youth. Indeed, it was precisely to the youthful clerics at the universities that the Order sought to make its appeal. St. Dominic sent his first friars to Paris "where many excellent clerics were received, who entered the Order of Friars Preachers."[16] Dominic

[13] F. Ehrle, "Thomas de Sutton, sein Leben, sein Quodlibet, et seine Quaestiones disputatae," *Festschrift Georg von Hertling* (Munich, 1913), p. 434: Quodlibetum magistri Thome Sutton, socii domus de Merton, postmodum ordinis predicatorum (*Merton Coll. MS.* 138, f. 154b). Cf. Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-72.

[14] *Chron. maj.*, IV, 164, translation quoted from J. A. Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History from the Year 1235 to 1273* (London, 1852), I, 383-4.

[15] *Calendar of Papal Letters* (London, 1894), I, 211.

[16] *Acta canonizationis S. Dominici* (M.O.P.H., XVI), p. 144, no. 26: . . . ubi multos bonos clericos receperunt, qui ordinem fratrum predicatorum intraverunt.

sent seven friars to Paris in 1217; when he came there in July, 1219, he found a community of thirty.[17] Going to Bologna shortly afterwards he was received by a large and thriving community which had been won to the Order by the eloquence of Master Reginald, himself a jurist who at an earlier date had lectured at Paris.[18] Indeed, Paris and Bologna were the only houses, in the early years of the order, that gained sufficient recruits to be able to send out new convents.[19] Jordan of Saxony of set purpose "frequented those towns which were the seats of learning and in which he knew students abounded, and hence he usually preached during Lent one year in Paris and the next in Bologna."[20] Oxford seems to have been chosen as the first English priory partly for the purpose of recruiting from among the scholars. When Jordan came to Oxford in 1230 he definitely expected to gain new candidates for the Order. Writing to the sisters at Bologna he gave expression to these hopes: "At the University of Oxford where I am at present staying, our Lord has given me the promise of a good catch. Beseech Him frequently that in this matter about which I entertain such high hopes, as in all others, His holy Will may be done."[21]

The appeal to the youth of Oxford, as a part of the recruiting tactics of both Dominicans and Franciscans, was so successful that, in the next century, nobles and people were afraid to send their sons to Oxford lest they should join one of the mendicant Orders.[22] The

[17] *Libellus Iordani* (M.O.P.H., XVI), p. 53, no. 59.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 51, no. 56, and p. 53, no. 60.

[19] H. C. Scheeben, *Der heilige Dominikus* (Freiburg in B., 1927), p. 335.

[20] *Vitae Fratrum* (M.O.P.H., I), p. 108, and p. 529. Translation of P. Conway, *Lives of the Brethren of the Order of Preachers* (New York, 1924), p. 96.

[21] *Die Briefe Jordans von Sachsen*, ed. B. Altaner (Leipzig, 1920), p. 20. Happily three of Jordan's sermons, one of which was certainly preached at Oxford, have been edited by A. G. Little and Decima Douie, "Three Sermons of Friar Jordan of Saxony," in *The English Historical Review*, LIV (1939), 1-19.

[22] S. Gibson, *Statuta antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 164-5. On this point see the fourteenth century poem edited by B. Hauréau, "Disputatio mundi et religionis," in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, XIV (1884), 7-8. Minores prae aliis et Praedicatores .... In suis coenobiis juvenes procurant / Et promissis variis illos assecurant; / Suis querimoniis sic eos indurant / Quod jam de suspiriis parentum non curant.

University itself passed a statute in 1358 forbidding the friars to receive or induce any student under eighteen years of age to enter their Orders.[23]

In the young men who entered the Order without any university training the constitutions of the Order presupposed some preliminary education,[24] though it is certain that this was frequently supplied after the candidate had been clothed with the habit.[25] Thomas of Cantimpré records that Jordan "once received into the Order at Paris sixty youths of such little education that many of them, as I have heard, were scarcely able after much repetition to recite one lesson at the Office of Matins."[26] Writing in 1271, Roger Bacon, who was somewhat antagonistic toward the scholastics, indicates that it was a regular practice to receive youthful candidates into the mendicant Orders:

> During the last forty years there have arisen some in the Universities (*in studio*) who have made themselves doctors and masters of theology and philosophy, though they have never learnt anything of real value (*dignum*) . . . . They are boys inexperienced in themselves, in the world, in the learned languages, Greek and Hebrew; . . . . they are ignorant of all parts and sciences of mundane philosophy, when

[23] *Munimenta academica* (R.S.), I, 207-8, and Gibson, *loc. cit.*: "for by apples and drink, as the people fables, they draw boys to their religion, and do not instruct them after their profession, as their age demands, but let them wander about begging, and waste the time when they could learn in currying favour with lords and ladies . . . .", trans. from A. G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxford, 1892), p. 43. Almost the same words are found in Richard de Bury, *Philobiblion* (ed. E. C. Thomas), p. 51. This statute was enacted during the time of open hostility to the friars in which Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, was the leading figure. It is undoubtedly exaggerated.

[24] *Constitutiones antiquae ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, ed. H. Denifle, *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, I (1885), 202: . . . . tres ydonei fratres . . . . recipiendos in moribus et scientia diligenter examinent . . . .

[25] Humbert, *Opera*, I, 474-75.

[26] *Bonum universale de apibus* (Douai, 1627), p. 227: Memor sum loci, et temporis, et personae, quod beatissimae memoriae pater Iordanus magister ordinis Praedicatorum secundus, praedicator strenuus, iuvenes uno tempore tam parvae litteraturae ad ordinem recepit Parisiis sexaginta, ut plures eorum vix possent, ut audivi, cum multa repetitione ad matutinale officium unam legere lectionem.

> they venture on the study of theology, which demands all human wisdom . . . . They are the boys of the two student Orders, like Albert and Thomas and others, who enter the Orders when they are twenty years old or less . . . . Many thousands enter who cannot read the Psalter or Donatus, and immediately after making their profession, they are set to study theology . . . .[27]

Humbert permitted the reception of such candidates when there was hope that under instruction they could be moulded into good religious.[28] Apparently good results were obtained. Tradition has it that Peter of Tarentaise, later Pope Innocent V, was among those received on the above occasion.[29] St. Albert the Great was another of those attracted to the Order by Jordan. Gerard of Frachet records that of twenty-one students received by Jordan at Paris at another time many later became professors of theology, and the youngest of them, "a young German whom on account of his youth the Master had repeatedly put off . . . . afterwards made such progress that he became a professor and preacher of note."[30] Jordan was taken to task by the general chapter for receiving the sixty youths at Paris,[31] as the minimum age required by the constitutions was eighteen years.[32] However, the statutes were probably honored more in the breach than in the observance, for the chapter of 1240 ordered that unusually young and uneducated youths should not be taken in great numbers.[33] Apparently in desperation the Chapter of 1265 forbade, without the special permission of the pro-

[27] *Opera inedita* (R.S.), pp. lv, 399. Translation from A. G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxford, 1892), p. 42.

[28] *Opera*, I, 475: Ex quibus omnibus apparet quod laudabile est quod ordo interdum in aliquibus nationibus curam apponat ad aliquos dociles juvenes in scientia promovendos, praecipue cum probatum sit experimento quod ex hoc speretur fructus magnus.

[29] Mothon, *Vie du B. Innocent V* (Rome, 1896), p. 5.

[30] *Vitae Fratrum*, p. 109. Conway, *Lives of the Brethren of the Order of Preachers* (New York, 1924), p. 47.

[31] Cantimpré, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

[32] *Constitutiones antiquae*, in A.L.K.G., I, 202: Nullus recipiatur intra xviii annos.

[33] *Acta capitulorum generalium* (M.O.P.H., III), I, 17: Fratres nimis iuvenes et indocti non multiplicentur.

vincial, the reception of anyone who had not completed his fifteenth year.[34] In 1272 and 1283 the capitular fathers framed drastic penalties for those who received candidates below the statutory age, which still remained at eighteen.[35]

Sometimes, when the candidate had not reached the age of eighteen, it was the practice to exact a promise from him to enter the Order when the legal age was reached. We find an example of this in 1223 when Honorius III declared that a certain scholar "was not obliged to receive the habit of the Preachers, since on being pressed by a certain Friar Preacher he had promised this when still of tender age, about seventeen years, while he was engaged in scholastic pursuits at Bologna."[36] In 1233 the chapter ordained that converts from heresy should be received by the Order only with reluctance, and advised provincials to be circumspect in admitting lay brothers, lest the convents should be burdened by too many of them.[37] At the same time the legislators were anxious that worthy applicants should not be turned away. In 1240, and again in 1261, it was ruled that no suitable person was to be refused admission because he lacked the necessary clothing.[38]

When a candidate applied for admission, the Order closely examined his qualifications. New members were always needed, but it wanted capable subjects who would be able to carry on its work. Humbert says that the acceptance of unsuitable candidates only caused "temptation for them, danger for souls, contempt for the Order, the loss of good [candidates], the ruin of the Order, the scandal of the weak, and boldness of enemies."[39] The constitutions

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 223.

[36] *Regesta Honorii Papae III* (ed. P. Pressutti, Rome, 1895), II, 121: Statuit ipsum ad assumendum habitum Praedicatorum non teneri, quum id aetate tenera, circa septemdecimum, dum Bononiae disciplinis insisteret scolasticis, a quodam de ordine Praedicatorum circumventus, promiserit.

[37] *Acta cap. gen.*, I, 3.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 110.

[39] *Opera*, I, 473: Sic igitur patet quod ex receptione personarum insufficientium sequitur hoc, scilicet earum tentatio, animarum periculum, contemptus ordinis, bonorum fugatio, ruina ordinis, infirmorum confractio, hostium audacia. On pp. 472 ff, he develops each point at length.

are less vivid but none the less exacting. A commission of three friars was to be appointed by the chapter of the house to examine candidates, referring its decision to the chapter which made the final judgment concerning fitness.[40] At the chapters of 1249 and of the two following years legislation on this point was made more precise, it being ordained that the prior could admit a candidate only after he had obtained the consent of the majority of the chapter of the house. The provincial, however, was permitted to receive applicants on his own initiative. At the same time it was ruled that the provincial could accept a lay brother only after he had consulted the house to which the candidate was to be sent. On the other hand the house was obliged to obtain his consent for the admission of lay brothers.[41]

When a favorable decision had been made as to a candidate's qualifications, he came before the chapter for the reception of the habit. The prior expounded the austerities of the Order, and asked the applicant if he was willing to observe the constitutions and renounce the world. On giving an affirmative answer he was clothed with the habit and placed under the care of the novice master, whose duty it was to instruct him in the religious life and in the rules and customs of the Order.[42] The novice remained in his charge throughout the period of probation, during which his vocation was tested, and the superiors observed him and made further trial of his qualifications. Under the early constitutions this period ordinarily endured for six months, though it could be lengthened or shortened if the prior thought fit. It was even permitted, in the case of more mature persons, to omit the time of probation and make profession immediately after the reception of the habit.[43] St. Dominic, for example, gave the habit to John of Spain when the latter was only eighteen years of age, and on the same day

[40] *Constit. antiq.*, in A.L.K.G., I, 202.

[41] *Acta cap. gen.*, I, 44, 49, 55; cf. *Constitutiones Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Redaction of Raymond of Penafort), in A.L.K.G. V (1889), 542.

[42] Cf. *Constit. antiq.*, in A.L.K.G., I, 201, 203, concerning the type of instruction given by the master of novices; also Humbert, *Opera*, II, 213-33.

[43] *Constit. antiq.*, in A.L.K.G., I, 202. For the formula of profession, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

permitted him to take the vows.[44] In the English Province Robert Bacon made his profession in this way. "The Dominicans," writes Thomas Eccleston, "were accustomed to profess on the day of their entry, if they wished, as did friar R. Bacun of good memory."[45]

This case, or at least the practice, drew a protest from the Franciscans, and they obtained the Bull *Non solum in favorem* from Gregory IX, dated July 11, 1236, by which the Friars Preachers were forbidden to admit any one to profession until a year after his reception of the habit.[46] The same prohibition was repeated at various times, but the corresponding change was not made in the constitutions until 1250.[47] However, the Franciscans were also offenders in the matter, as may be seen in similar bulls addressed to them in 1238 and 1244.[48] These bulls also forbade the hindering of any candidate who wished to transfer to another Order during the year of his novitiate, and prohibited Franciscans and Dominicans from receiving the professed members and those bound by oath to the other Order without the consent of his superior.[49] Matthew Paris' verbatim reproduction under the year 1244 of the Bull *Non solum in favorem*,[50] which had been reissued in that year, and

[44] *Acta canonizationis* (M.O.P.H., XVI), p. 142, no. 25.

[45] Thomas Eccleston, *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam* (ed. A. G. Little, Paris, 1909), p. 101.

[46] *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1729), I, 90; renewed by Innocent IV, June 17, 1244, *ibid.*, p. 144; cf. p. 350. The Bull *Meminimus vobis olim* of Innocent IV, issued on June 24, 1244, and renewed by Alexander IV, May 8, 1256, regulated the same matters, *ibid.*, pp. 144, 305.

[47] *Acta cap. gen.*, I, 52, 56, 63 (1250-51-52).

[48] L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (2) ed. Rome, 1731), III, 400, 433-4. *Bullarium Franciscanum* (Rome, 1759), I, 198, no. 203; 342, no. 48; II, 130, no. 186 (*Non solum in favorem*). Cf. Eccleston, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-2.

[49] *Licet olim, Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray (Paris, 1890), nos. 3268-9. *Quo vos in Christo, B.O.P.*, I, 141; *Bull. Fran.*, I, 327. *Non solum in favorem, B.O.P.*, I, 90, 144, 350; *Bull. Fran.*, I, 198, 342; II, 130. *Meminimus vobis olim, B.O.P.*, I, 144, 305; *Bull. Fran.*, I, 130, 198, 342. This bull, later in date, forbade only the reception of the professed members of the opposite Order. The Cistercians, Augustinians, and other Orders were also forbidden to receive professed Dominicans; cf. *B.O.P.*, I, 77, no. 131, 173 no. 176, 174 no. 177, 359 no. 200.

[50] *Chron. maj.*, IV, 291-4.

Thomas Eccleston's complaints [51] against the Dominicans indicate that the latter point was still a vital question in England. By ecclesiastical law a professed religious was forbidden to join another Order less strict than his own unless he had secured special permission.[52] It was this fact which led to biter controversy between the Dominicans and Franciscans as to which was the stricter Order.

> On one side the Preachers declaring that they were instituted first, and on that account more worthy; that they were also more decent in their apparel, and had deservedly obtained their name and office from their preaching, and on that they were more truly distinguished by the apostolic dignity; on the other side, the Minorites gave answer that they had embraced, for God, a way of living more rigourous and humble, and so the more worthy, because more holy; and that the brothers could and certainly ought to pass over from the order of Preachers to their order, as from an inferior community to one more rigourous and superior. The Preachers contradicted them to their face, saying that though the Minorites went barefoot, coarsely clad, and girded with a rope, the privilege of eating flesh or a more delicate article of diet was not denied them even in public, a thing which is forbidden to the community of Preachers, wherefore it could not be allowed that the Preachers could enter the order of Minorites, as one more rigourous and more worthy, but quite the contrary.[53]

Regardless of the academic merits of the case, in the practical order the Dominicans seem to have had the better of the argument. It was at the request of the Franciscans that a copy of the bull of 1244, which equally restrained the proselytizing activity of both Orders, was sent to England and generally circulated there.[54] On the other hand, when a bull of similar tenor was sent to the Franciscans, the Dominicans made the fullest use of its provisions, and, according to Eccleston, scarcely let any of their friars go over to them.[55] However, a friar could transfer to another Order by spe-

[51] *Op. cit.*, pp. 101-2.

[52] For bulls forbidding Dominicans to transfer to another Order, cf. *B.O.P.*, I, 12 no. 19, 19 no. 5, 130 no. 40, 138 no. 60, 303 no. 91.

[53] *Chron. maj.*, IV, 279; Giles, *op. cit.*, I, 474-5.

[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 292-4.

[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 101-2.

cial permission of the Pope, if his own superiors refused to let him go.[56] The Chapter of 1259, desiring to have as little as possible to do with those who had quit the Order, ordered the brethren not to be unduly friendly with anyone who had joined another Order.[57] A letter of Robert Kilwardby, written to strengthen some Dominican novices in their vocation and probably to keep them from entering another Order, drew a vigorous protest from John Pecham. It exalted preaching and the Dominican manner of life at the expense of poverty and certain points of the Franciscan rule, and Pecham fairly bristles as he pens his reply.[58]

A good example of the inconstancy of some friars is had in the case of Nicholas of Aldbury. He was first a Dominican, then for nine years a canon of Dunstable, and finally once more a Dominican.[59] Another case, recorded in the *Lives of the Brethren* demonstrates a different kind of inconstancy: "The parish priest of a church in England, who was avaricious and guilty of other sinful habits, being terrified at the thought of his approaching end, took the habit of the Friars Preachers, only to throw it off directly he got better." After that he fell into deeper excesses until he was brought to his senses by a terrifying vision. On awakening and considering the subject of his dream, he confessed his sins "to Brother Martin, the lector of our convent in Northampton." This time he persevered, dying soon after.[60] Several fragments of a notarial instrument, drawn up at Oxford in 1304, record a dispute be-

[56] The various points regulated by papal bulls touching the transfer of friars are conveniently grouped in the eleventh paragraph in the list of Dominican privileges, drawn up at the old Ratisbon priory; H. C. Scheeben, "De Bullario quodam Ordinis Praedicatorum saeculi XIII," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, VI (1936), 228, 237-9. A friar who had papal license to transfer had to do so within three months; *B.O.P.*, I, 215 no. 264; 376 no. 219.

[57] *Acta cap. gen.*, I, 97. This evidently referred to those who had transferred with permission. Papal bulls ordered that apostates, i.e., those who had acted without permission, be avoided by the friars; *B.O.P.*, I, 23 no. 12; 138 no. 61: cf. A.F.P., VI, pp. 239-40.

[58] *Tractatus contra Fratrem Robertum Kilwardby, O.P.* (British Society of Franciscan Studies, II), pp. 91 ff.

[59] *Annales monastici* (R.S.), III, 261.

[60] *Vitae Fratrum*, pp. 278-9. Conway, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-63.

tween the Carmelites and the Dominicans. The trouble was caused by the defection of John of Berkhamsted and John of Otindone, both Carmelites, to the Dominicans. The document was drawn up and witnessed at the instance of Thomas Barna, a Dominican of Oxford.[61]

The success which attended the English Province's efforts to attract worthy candidates may be illustrated by a quotation from Matthew Paris, who wrote under the year 1227:

> At that time when the miracles worked through the merits of the blessed Francis and Dominic began to be more frequent, their Orders began to flourish unexpectedly and to receive a happy increase, not only in regions beyond the seas, but also in the kingdom of England, so that in their buildings and communities they were reputed the equals of monasteries already famous . . . . they strenuously devoted themselves to the duty of preaching, studying and teaching, and nobles, clerics, and even prelates began to flock to their Orders.[62]

The recruitment of candidates suffered no abatement, for the popularity of the friars increased as time went on. In 1235 the chronicler again notes:

> In these days the Order of Preachers and Minors began to increase and prosper to such an extent that in buildings, in the increased number of well educated friars, and also in the fame of knowledge and preaching they were compared to the great and famous monasteries.[63]

II. The Membership of English Dominican Priories

How many Dominican friars were there in England during the first century after their arrival? How many of them were stationed in the North, in the Midlands, in the South? How many of them were available in the seaport towns, or in the market towns to go among the people teaching, preaching, hearing confessions?

In seeking to answer these questions we are hampered by insufficient evidence. Only in a few instances do the sources mention expressly the number of friars living in any of the houses during

[61] *MS. e. Mus.* 198 *, fol. 1.

[62] *Historia minor* (R.S.), II, 298-9.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 384.

the reign of Henry III. At Winchester in 1239 tunics and shoes were given to twenty-eight friars. At the same priory in 1242 and 1244 thirty-one friars were furnished with winter clothing.[64] In 1244 the king ordered the sheriff of Northampton to provide each of the thirty-one friars dwelling there with five and one-half ells of blanketing for their robes.[65]

The records, however, preserved from the reigns of the first three Edwards are more consistent and regular.[66] Beginning with 1277 and continuing until 1337 royal donations for food are made intermittently to the different priories. After that date only two benefactions are recorded: Bamburgh received a gift of 2s. 8d. in 1349 for the maintenance of eight friars, and Hereford received 20s. for twelve brethren.[67] Four pence a day was allotted in these royal gifts to each friar, and by dividing the amount of the royal alms by four we arrive at the number of friars assigned to each house at the time the donation was made. Examination of our evidence reveals that the number of friars at the various houses remained fairly constant throughout, though there was some fluctuation at times, as will be indicated below.

At first sight the evidence at our disposal seems to promise much aid in estimating the number of friars and the personnel of the various houses, but when allowance is made for the span of years covered, the many lacunae warn that generalizations must be

[64] *Calendar of Liberate Rolls 1226-1240*, p. 43; *ibid. 1240-1245*, pp. 144, 190, 264. C. F. R. Palmer, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XIII (1879), 89, lists twenty-two friars for Canterbury in 1237, but he misread the entry; cf. *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-1240*, p. 298.

[65] *Cal. Lib. R. 1226-1240*, p. 281.

[66] It was not thought necessary to set out at length our sources for all the statistics contained in the following pages. They will be found in the appropriate volumes of the *Victoria County Histories* and in the articles of Father Palmer, listed by B. Jarrett, *The English Dominicans* (London, 1921), Appendix III. Further data will be found in *P.R.O., Exchequer Accounts*, 351/15, 352/18, and in *Chancery Miscellanea*, 4/2, 4/4, 4/6.

[67] Palmer, "The Black Friars of Bamborough," *The Reliquary*, XX (1880), 140, and "The Black Friars of Hereford," *ibid.*, XXIII (1882), p. 19; cf. p. 20. Oxford received an alms for seventy friars from New College in 1377 (Bursar's Roll); cf. A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester, 1917), pp. 71-72.

avoided. Of the fifty houses [68] which were in existence before 1337 seven are without statistics. These are Brecon, Ilchester, Scarborough, Thetford, Truro, Winchelsea, and the presumably important house at Lancaster. For the remaining forty-three priories the evidence is lamentably insufficient. In the case of seven we have only one figure for the whole period.

In this group are found Bristol with 106 friars in 1285, Cardiff with 30 in 1285, Derby with 26 in 1325, Haverfordwest with 39 in 1285, Shrewsbury with 38 in 1283, Sudbury with 30 in 1296. Hereford, also in this group, had 12 friars in 1352 but in this case we are not certain that we are not faced with the effects of the Black Death.[69] For this class of priories the membership shown by our statistics may or may not be the average. It may exceed or fall far short of the ordinary household of these houses, since our evidence shows that in several instances the number of friars varied greatly. In the case of the London house, for example, we find a range between 60 and 128. In 1289 on one occasion it had 93 friars and on another, 128. In June, 1297, 78 friars were at the house; a month later only 64. On March 15, 1300, 85 friars were resident; on March 21, 92. Clearly the community was in a constant state of ebb and flow. Friars were coming and going, preaching, giving

[68] We have some record of fifty-seven English Dominican houses. In addition, it has been suggested that houses existed at Doncaster, Hull, Newport (Monmouth), Plymouth, and Rhyader (Radnor), but the evidence for these foundations is not conclusive. The existence of Dominican houses at Gillingham, Hartlepool, and Jarrow is not beyond doubt. If ever fully established, they probably did not exist for any length of time, since in the three centuries before the Reformation we have only one distinct reference to each. Dartford, Melcombe Regis, and Worcester were founded after 1337. Wilton probably remained as a cell of Salisbury after the foundation of that house. None of the above-mentioned houses have been included in our study. For data concerning them, cf. D. Knowles, *The Religious Houses of Medieval England* (London, 1940), pp. 104-8.

[69] Five friars are recorded for Scarborough on one occasion in the late fourteenth century; *Collectanea topographica et genealogica* (ed. J. G. Nichols, London, 1837), IV, 133. The 20s. alms bestowed during a royal visit in 1335 has not been taken into account since it was probably not given in proportion to the number of religious, as Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites all received the same sum; cf. Palmer, "The Friar Preachers of Scarborough," *Reliquary*, XX (1880), 202.

missions, serving on embassies, travelling to chapter, carrying on the multifarious activity of the province. The same phenomena can be observed in some of the other priories. At Cambridge the number of friars fluctuates between 40 and 75; at Oxford between 60 and 96. At that priory we note that in February, 1277, 86 brethren are in residence, but in June, obviously after some of the friars have "gone down" to their native priories, the number drops to 70. At Northampton in 1300, 40 brethren are in the house in March, April, and December, but at Christmas time the number rises to 46. Perhaps the preachers and confessors, after the missionary activities of Advent, had come home to refresh their spirit during the holiday season.

For another group of five houses only two figures are available, Bangor, Dunwich, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Rhuddlan, and Warwick. But from here on we are on safer ground. Three houses have a set of three figures, three have four, four have five and so on. Stamford has fifteen figures, Northampton, eighteen, York, nineteen, while London (Ludgate) presents forty-seven, covering a period of twenty years between 1289 and 1337.[70]

Obviously in the case of the seven houses for which no statistics are extant we must rely on guesswork. For the priories with only one figure we are hardly on firmer ground. However, as we have already noted, a study of the evidence available reveals that, for the most part, the personnel of the houses seems to have remained more or less the same throughout the period under consideration. The membership of the priories is fairly constant and apparently does not vary any more than the continual comings and goings, necessitated by the regular activity of the house, would entail. For this reason we cannot be very much in error if we compute an average membership for each of the forty-three houses for which we have statistics. The results are as follows:

Arundel	21	Beverley	34
Bamburgh	9	Boston	34
Bangor	40	Bristol	106

[70] In 1243 there were eighty friars at the Holborn house, London. The priory was moved from Holborn to Ludgate *ca.* 1275.

Cambridge	60	London	76
Canterbury	36	Lynn	41
Cardiff	30	Newcastle-under-Lyme	16
Carlisle	16	Newcastle-on-Tyne	30
Chelmsford	36	Norwich	45
Chester	38	Northampton	40
Chichester	28	Oxford	77
Derby	26	Pontefract	31
Dunstable	31	Rhuddlan	24
Dunwich	24	Salisbury	47
Exeter	36	Shrewsbury	38
Gloucester	33	Stamford	40
Guildford	17	Sudbury	30
Haverfordwest	39	Warwick	35
Hereford	12	Winchester	36
Ipswich	35	Yarm	30
Kings Langley	50	Yarmouth	35
Leicester	33	York	50
Lincoln	46		

By adding these totals we obtain the average membership of all these houses collectively, viz., 1595 friars, or an average membership of 37 friars. For the remaining seven houses whose membership is entirely unknown, we have thought it reasonable to adopt 25 as an average, since only seven of the other houses, for which we have evidence, fall below that number. Thus another 175 must be added to our previous total, making 1770 [71] the approximate number of English Dominicans during the first quarter of the fourteenth century.[72]

[71] Little, *Studies*, pp. 69-71, estimates the average number of Franciscans in England between 1289-1339 to have been about 1900. For the thirty-nine houses of which there is information we have 1360-70 friars, an average of 35 to a house. For the nineteen houses for which no evidence is at hand he estimates the average at 30 friars each, this giving 570 more friars. The grand total is thus less than 2000 Franciscans. In 1256-57 in the forty-nine Franciscan houses there were 1242 friars, an average of 25. Cf. Eccleston, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[72] For an interesting study concerning the number of Dominicans at the eve of the Protestant Revolt see Walter Gumbley, O.P., "Mr. Baskerville and the Monks," *Blackfriars*, XVIII (1937), 340-51.

Conclusion

Three conclusions, provided we keep in mind the nature of our evidence, can be drawn from these results. It seems clear that the majority of the priories had a personnel much larger than that officially required by the constitutions. In all but six cases the number of brethern is at least double the twelve required to form a legal convent.[73] On the other hand, only in the case of Bamburgh, the northernmost of the English houses, is the catalogue of friars below the required number. Here statistics from 1299, 1300, 1301, and 1349 never reveal more than ten belonging to the priory. The fact that in most cases the number exceeded requirements seems to indicate that the Dominicans were conscious of their corporate life, and that they constantly kept in view the clerical and canonical nature of their Order. We suggest that it was their endeavor to keep enough men stationed at the various houses so that, when all preaching engagements and other employments outside the house had been filled, there would still be enough friars at home to carry out the religious and monastic obligations of the priory with dignity and solemnity. The evidence from Henry III's reign, meager though it is, seems to point to the same conclusion. Winchester, founded about 1235,[74] has in 1239 a community of 28; in 1242 it boasts a community of 31. Northampton in eleven years is a large priory of 31. Furthermore, it may be noted that in the first decade of Dominican life in England, 1221-1231, only five priories were established.[75] The reason for this undoubtedly was that vocations multiplied slowly and the authorities were unwilling to found anything but a legal convent. This supposition militates against the charge of unsacerdotalism, that is, emphasis on preaching to the neglect of the Mass and liturgical observances, made by a recent writer against St. Dominic and the early leaders of the Order.[76]

[73] *Constitutiones Antiquae,* in A.L.K.G., I, 221.

[74] *Close Rolls 1234-1237,* p. 95. This is the first time the house is mentioned in the sources.

[75] During this decade the Irish and Scottish vicariates were also founded. Dublin seems to have been established in 1224. Cf. the list of Scottish and Irish houses in *Analecta Ordinis Praedicatorum,* II (1895-6), 484-89; III (Rome, 1897-98), 16-25.

[76] R. F. Bennett, *The Early Dominicans* (Cambridge, England, 1937), p. 180.

Another observation of interest may be based on our body of statistics. The provisioning of the community larder by royal alms, which at first seems to have been an important item in the support of the friars, is seen to have been a sporadic and, in some cases, a unique occurrence. Oxford, Cambridge, and Kings Langley, it is true, had their yearly pensions from the royal purse, but for the other priories, with the exception of the years 1277, 1300, and 1335, these alms are seldom given more than once in the year to any one priory. They are by no means an annual or regular affair and usually occur at long intervals. In many instances these donations were made while the king was in the town or vicinity. The figure for Chester in 1277 and the two for Rhuddlan in 1277 and 1283 date from Edward I's expeditions in Wales. The statistics for Exeter (1297) and Yarmouth (1277) are likewise the result of visits of Edward to these cities. The presence of the London priory in the chief city of the realm undoubtedly accounts for the more complete body of information available for that house. The favor bestowed on the Ludgate priory by Edward I, in so liberally providing it with building funds, is also reflected in the membership of the house. During his reign the average membership is 83 friars. During the following two reigns it sinks to 71.

A third observation derived from the evidence is that the number of friars in the different priories remains more or less static during Edward I's reign and those of his two immediate successors. This appears to indicate that the full manpower of the province was reached before Edward's reign. When he began to rule, all but five of the thirteenth-century houses already existed. From 1272 until the close of the century only five more priories were founded. Of these Salisbury was the largest and it was only a transfer, though undoubtedly also an enlargement, of the Wilton priory. The other four houses, Guildford, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Chelmsford, and Chichester, can be classed among the smaller houses. The fourteenth century houses, with the exception of King's Langley were apparently small priories.[77]

[77] It must be noted, however, that no figures are available for any of these but King's Langley, which at one period numbered 100 friars. Cf. Jarrett, *The English Dominicans*, p. 8. Nevertheless the perusal of the inventories taken at the dissolution leaves one with the impression that they were small houses, both in property and in membership.

Four priories were established in the first decade after the arrival of the first Dominicans (1221). Ten were founded in the twelve-thirties; eight in the forties; eight in the fifties, and nine in the sixties. Four houses were started in the seventies and only two in the eighties. From then on no new priory is founded until 1307. The peak in membership is apparently reached by the seventh decade of the century. About the same time the foundation of new houses slows down, and in the eighth decade ceases. It may be that the termination of growth testifies to a decline in zeal and discipline, but it seems more likely that the retardation is a sign that the Province had reached maturity. Surely, sooner or later the number of friars and houses must cease to grow. England, as a country, could support only a certain number of religious—eventually the saturation point would be reached. Furthermore, a glance at a map and the relative positions of the different Dominican houses indicates that every corner of the country and nearly every large and important city possessed its community of Preaching Friars. Dominican houses were located in the episcopal cities of Canterbury, York, London, Norwich, Lincoln, Carlisle, Hereford, Exeter, Salisbury, Winchester, and Chichester; in the important sea-port and fishing towns of Lynn, Boston, Scarborough, Yarmouth, Ipswich, London, Exeter, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; in the market and fair towns of Stamford, Winchester, Northampton, and Boston; in cities located on the main arteries of travel, such as Canterbury, London, Northampton, York, Leicester, Carlisle, and Newcastle. Even the mileage between the different houses seems to be fairly well regulated—the friars seemingly having calculated to a nicety how many of themselves each section of the country could absorb and maintain.

The results of this inquiry are not as conclusive as we should like, but the nature and paucity of the source material make it unlikely that anything further could be done on the points we have investigated. The possibility that new documents might be discovered indeed exists, but English sources have been combed so thoroughly by the historians of the English friars that there is little hope in this direction.

Nevertheless, we have not been engaged on a completely thankless task. The vigorous life of the English Province is attested by

the numerous men who entered its ranks, and there are enough indications from English sources to show that the concern of the Order to win the adhesion of men who in experience or in talent gave promise of a fruitful apostolate was shared by the Province. As elsewhere in the Order, a special appeal was made, with success, to the men of the universities—professors and students. The membership of the priories was kept at sufficient strength to guarantee the personnel all the spiritual and intellectual advantages of a well-regulated community. Care in this regard testifies indirectly that the provisions for the rounded training of new recruits, demanded by the constitutions, were observed. If the sources, therefore, do not allow us to measure the influence of the English Province more exactly, they at least show us that it possessed two of the chief ingredients of fruitful activity—spirit and life.

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MISCELLANY

I

A Rich Source Collection for Catholic Scholars of the Risorgimento: The Henry Nelson Gay Materials of Harvard University

A precious and almost completely unworked body of documents in defence of the conservative and clerical position in the Risorgimento is comprised in the magnificent Henry Nelson Gay Collection of Harvard University. Consisting largely of contemporary pamphlets, newspapers, and broadsides — many of them sole surviving copies — these approximately 43,000 items constitute a vastly important and hitherto untouched source collection for scholars desirous of approaching a task which has never been satisfactorily achieved — the full and fair estimate of the conservative case in the momentous period of Italian unification.

The interpretation of the Risorgimento by liberal historians has been sometimes less than completely objective in regard to some topics involving personal sympathies. We are likely to forget, in our perusal of the plausible pages of Masi, Orsi, Thayer, or Trevelyan, that there was being issued continually, during the period in question, a body of conservative apologetic of at least equally plausible character, an examination of which is certainly necessary for a completely rounded view of the events. This apologetic may frequently be guilty of *parti pris;* but it exists, it is therefore an integral part of the story, and, as such, cannot be ignored by the historian.

It is not too rash to say that the Gay Collection includes a larger mass of this type of material than can be found anywhere today; and—a practical point for the research worker—the pamphlets, journals, and other items have never been used for this purpose of throwing new light on such questions as the character of papal, Neapolitan, and Austrian government in the peninsula, the case in defense of the temporal power of the pope, the case for *regionalismo,* and the case for the clerical opposition after 1860.

The Gay Collection is a remarkable one. It is the result of more than thirty years of accumulation by a great American scholar, whose love for Italy was sincere and whose wealth permitted him to indulge without stint his passion for filling his bookcases with what has become the largest and most detailed library of printed sources on the Risorgimento. What the

collection meant to Mr. Gay, and what it should mean to the scholar of today, is suggested by the following quotation from an unpublished letter sent by the donor to the curator of the Widener Library shortly after the presentation of the princely gift:

> I am very much pleased that you call the acquisition "wonderful". It really is, though it may ill become me to say so. In handling the books for the last time the conviction deepened in me ... To me the collection had become an animate thing. As a whole it breathed the spirit of a great people, with the vigor, the virtues, and the defects of youth. It was its completeness that made it animate. The entire thought and soul of the Italian people found expression through it. No one can understand the Italy of today and tomorrow without first coming to understand that period. The Harvard College Library is now the best place in the world, no spot in Italy excepted, for the study of that period on published sources.[1]

The standard followed by Mr. Gay in amassing his collection was described by Professor Menghini as being the conviction that "the history of the Risorgimento ... is not to be sought merely in the varying fortunes of war or the tricks of diplomacy, but ... in order to grasp its whole spirit and all its forms, it is necessary to consider various factors, social, economic, industrial, administrative ..."[2]

The bibliographical elements of the collection consist of the following:

1) The collector's personal check list of most (though not all) of the items. This list, now in five medium-sized boxes, with an individual card for each item, was begun by Mr. Gay with two main purposes—first, as a "want" list, and secondly as a day-by-day record of his acquisitions. It is cross-indexed alphabetically according to topic and author, and, when supplemented by the excellent general catalogue of the Widener Library, and the four-shelf classification volumes of the Risorgimento section, constitutes the best guide to the Gay materials.

2) The collector's personal "Bibliography of the Risorgimento period of Italian history, 1814-1870, arranged by date". This is a card index in twenty-six medium-sized boxes. Its usefulness is limited, as it is unfinished and greatly abbreviated in its titles; but it contains some leads not found in the other bibliographies of the collection.

3) The collector's unfinished *Specimen Titles from a Critical Bibliography of the Italian Risorgimento, 1815-1870* (Rome, Tipo. Popolare, 1900). This is a printed sketch—it is nothing more—of a work which Mr. Gay

[1] Letter of Mr. Gay to Mr. Potter, Mar. 6, 1931, from Rome, in "Letters of H. N. Gay describing his Risorgimento Collection," Harvard Library, Ital. 500.100.3.

[2] "Commemoration of Commendatore H. N. Gay by Professor Menghini", n.d., H. L., Ital. 500.100.2.5.

hoped to see completed some day, either by himself or other scholars. Most, though not all, of its very few items are included in the collection. Its chief value lies in its being a blueprint of Mr. Gay's own idea of what a Risorgimento bibliography, based chiefly on his library, should be. The divisions follow a master plan based on localities and main currents of events.

Catholic scholars will be particularly interested in the several series of contemporary pamphlets presenting both sides of the Church-State question.[3] One is struck immediately by the very considerable quantity of competent and well-reasoned clerical apologetic in these volumes. This fact urges the conclusion that, in the face of the anti-Church campaign, there existed an exceedingly large body of opposing Catholic opinion, of a numerical and logical strength which deserves much more recognition and study than it has received.

No truly objective judgment can be passed on the professed liberalism of the Italian State, and the alleged anti-liberalism of the Catholic reaction, without weighing the evidence of such protests as that contained in the *Tumulti in Firenze la sera 6 giugno 1861*, a *pièce d'occasion* which is typical of scores of these pamphlets.[4]

In the spring of 1861, says this document (published in the same year), "all the better classes of Florence" and the people as a whole wished to participate in the usual Corpus Christi procession. But the government, angered by the clergy's refusal to attend the *feste nazionali*, forbade all employees of the State and members of the teaching corps from taking part in the ceremony, and refused to provide police protection for the procession. As a consequence a mob of ruffians broke up the sacred demonstration and invaded the house of the young seminarians. The clerical author of the *Tumulti* draws the conclusion that the government's boast

[3] Of special value are the following runs; the titles here given are those on the bound volumes in the Harvard University stacks, Risorgimento section:

a) *Roman Question, 1859-1878. Contemporary Pamphlets. H. N. Gay Coll.*, 24 vols. b) *Roman Question, 1879-1887. Contemp. Pamphl. Gay Coll.*, I vol. c) *Roman Question, 1888-1900. Contemp. Pamphl. Gay Coll.*, I vol. d) *Church and State in Italy, 1879-1899. Contemp. Pamphl., Gay Coll.*, I vol. e) *Church Property and Religious Orders in Italy. Contemp. Pamphl. Gay Coll.*, [through 1860-1880]. Supplementary to these are the two series, not properly a part of the Gay materials: Boulay de la Meurth, *Roman Question, 1859-1879*, and the similar series of W. R. Thayer

[4] *Tumulti in Firenze la sera del 6 giugno 1861, ottava del Corpus Christi; storia contemporanea, descritti per un da Firenze, testimonio oculare* (Florence, Tipo. della Minerva, 1861).

"liberty for all" evidently does not include the Catholics, who, in this instance at least, have not enjoyed equality of rights before the law.[5]

A more indirect yet vivid testimony to the results of the government's anti-Church campaign is the large body of literature inspired by the Garibaldi legend. The extent to which the more radical, at least, of the liberals, sought to substitute human idols in place of the dispossessed Divinity is suggested by the *Catechismo Garabaldino*.[6] This remarkable booklet is described as a manual for the youth of Italy; and it would seem to come perilously close to blasphemy. The following are some extracts:

Q. Make the sign of the cross.
A. In the name of the Father of my country, of the son of the people, and of the spirit of liberty, Amen!
Q. Who has created you a soldier?
A. Garibaldi has created me a soldier.
Q. Who is Garibaldi?
A. Garibaldi is a spirit most generous, blessed of heaven and earth.
Q. How many Garibaldis are there?
A. There is only one Garibaldi.
Q. How many persons are in Garibaldi?
A. In Garibaldi there are three persons really distinct, i.e., the Father of his country, the son of the people, and the spirit of liberty.
Q. Which of these three persons became man?
A. The second, i.e., the son of the people.
Q. How was he made man?
A. He took a body and a soul, as we did, in the most blessed womb of a woman of the people.[7]

There are several series of contemporary pamphlets presenting the regionalist side as against the centralizing policy of the new government. This section of the collection is a rich mine of evidence in favor of the case for the local autonomies. Such complaints as the following, repeated hundreds of times in these series, tend to modify our judgment of the Italian revolution as a new birth of liberty and national independence:

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

[6] *Catechismo Garibaldino; istruzioni da farsi ai giovanetti italiani dai 15 ai 25 anni*, Milan, n. pub., 1866.

[7] *Catechismo*, pp. 1-2. An example of another type of testimony in favor of the clerical viewpoint is the following pamphlet written by a declared liberal, and, at least by profession, anti-clerical: *Discorso pronunziato alla camera nella tornata del 16 maggio 1873 da Gius. Toscanelli, deputato di Pontedera, contro il progetto di legge* [i.e.] *estensione alla provincia di Roma delle leggi sulle corporazioni religiose a sulla conversione dei beni immobili degli enti morali ecclesiastici* (Rome, Eredi Botta, 1873).

> Neapolitans! with the annexation of our country to Piedmont our national independence is lost, and we are reduced to the status of a distant and abandoned province of Piedmont ... Let there be one pact and one faith for all Italy; but let us not cede, *per carità*, our country! [8]

A similar protest by a Sicilian declares that people's wish for separation from Naples, but not annexation to Piedmont.[9] The prosperous and happy condition of Florence under the Austrian regime, and the deterioration in that condition as a direct result of the new political order is brought out in several of the pamphlets. "Before 1859", declares F. Genala,[10] "Florence lived a tranquil and prosperous life; rents were low, the cost of living reasonable ... taxes light". After 1860 the circumstances of the city are far different. The ruinous costs of maintaining there the new government from 1864 to 1870 are described by Pietro Bastogi.[11] A representation including 400,000 of the 1,800,000 inhabitants of Tuscany complains of the new regime's oppressiveness and denial of liberty to large conservative minorities.[12] To quote once more from the *Tumulti in Firenze*:

> Tuscany, under the princes of Lorraine respected, envied, tranquil, and rich, has witnessed after 1860 acts ... not tolerated in China.[13]

[8] Salvatore Giampaolo, *Napoli e Sicilia nel 1860* (Naples, Tipo. Cav. Gaetano Nobile, 1860), pp. 16-17.

[9] Beltrani Morello, *Sull' annessione* (Naples, Francesco Lao, 1860), pp. 9-12.

[10] *La Questione di Firenze e il modo di risolverla* (Rome, Tipo. del Senato di Forzani e C., 1878), p. 5.

[11] *La questione di Firenze; lettera di Pietro Bastogi (estratta dal giornale la 'Nazione' del 23 febbraio 1879)*, (Florence, Successori le Monnier, 1879).

[12] *'Il Contemporaneo' e i suoi 400,000 Toscani*, (Florence, Tip. Fiorentina, 1864), pp. 5-8, II.

[13] *Tumulti*, p. 23. Cf. the addenda to the same passage: "From the 27th of April, 1860, Tuscany has experienced all the following: the ruin of her finances; the expulsion of the most worthy and most intelligent of her officials; vexations; perquisitions; lawsuits without an opportunity to present a defence; ... stoppage of pensions acquired by many years of service; ... and, finally, that which is condemned even at Constantinople, the sequestration of private properties, as happened, for example, at Bargagli" (*ibid.*, p. 23, note ii). Similar complaints come from many other localities. For example: *I cittadini del Borgo-Gaeta all' opinione pubblica* (Naples, Stabil. Tipo. del Cav. Gaetano Nobile, 1865); *Livorno e il suo Portofranco, considerato nel passato, nel presente, e nell' avvenire*, da un vecchio Livornese [socio dell' Accademia Labronica], (Florence, F. Agostini, 1863); *Pistoia e la circoscrizione territoriale del regno* [estratto dal giornale *'La Nazione'*], Elio Babini (Florence, Tipo. Barbèra, 1861); *Illmi Signori presidente e onorevoli deputati al parlamento italiano*, Teseo Cappellini (Siena, Tipo. nel R. Istit. dei Sordo-Muti, L. Lazzeri,

All this gives considerable probability to the claim of another conservative writer that the great majority of Tuscans in 1865 wished for the return of the "beloved granducal family".[14]

It must be remembered, of course, that these recriminations represent but one side of the question; but it is a side of the question which has never been thoroughly explored and never sufficiently heard. The conservative complaints may have been unfair or exaggerated; but those complaints are important elements of the whole picture of Italian unification, and that great phenomenon cannot be fully understood unless we give to them attentive ear.

On the controversial question of the character of Austrian rule in the peninsula, the Gay documents have much light to shed. In this field one of the most important items in the collection is the very rare (and perhaps unique) run of the *Gazzetta Italiana*, a moderate liberal journal published three times weekly by Italians in Paris. The life span of the *Gazzetta* was very brief, being confined to the year 1845; but, while it lasted, it represented typical moderate liberal Italian thought of the period. In its pages we read some rather surprising tributes to the enlightened character of Austrian rule in Italy. The Tuscan government is "inclined always to favor industrial enterprises", and has just granted three new railroad concessions.[15] The Austrian government in Italy "applies its serious and continuous attention to matters of marine, and obtains there the most satisfactory results; the ports of Trieste, Fiume, and Venezia are in full prosperity".[16]

Ernesto Ravvitti goes even farther in his praise of Austrian administration. He quotes Mazzini's opinion that "the Lombard-Venetian kingdom under Austria has in no way deteriorated";[17] Cesare Cantù is adduced as witness to the same effect;[18] and, in a concluding passage, we are given

1862) [a plea for Piombino, like that above-mentioned for Pistoia.]; *Pro Domo Mea; discorso a' posteri sulle vicende del Regno di Napoli e di Sicilia dal 7 settembre 1860 sino al 7 settembre 1863*, no pub., anon., 1863; *Il Sollevamento delle plebe di Palermo e del circondario nel settembre 1866*, Vincenzo Maggiorani (Palermo, Stamperia Militare, 1866).

[14] *I. Conservatori all' urne ed al' Parlamento Italiano*, Italia, 1865, p. 1.

[15] *Gazzetta Italiana*, No. 1, May 15, 1845. This same passage remarks also the flourishing conditions of manufacturers in Lombardy and Venetia.

[16] *Gazz. Ital.*, No. 3, May 20, 1845.

[17] Ernesto Ravvitti, *Delle recenti avventure d'Italia*, (Venice, Tipo. Emiliana, 1864), pp. 280-81, quoting Mazzini, *L'Italia nelle sue relazioni con la moderna civiltà*, I, Sez. II, cap. 1, p. 143.

[18] *Delle recenti avventure*, pp. 278-79.

this frank analysis of the situation as existing between the Austrians and the natives of the peninsula:

> In Turin, in 1851, an emigrant from Brescia, after declaring that he abhorred Austria with his whole heart and soul, did not hesitate to affirm: "We Lombards praise her magistracy *integerrimo nella giustizia*, her colossal organization, her disciplined soldiery, her instructed officials, her employees of such polite and affable character. But they are not of our family .... We even say that among the Italians ruled by Austria education is more encouraged and made more universal than in any other state of our peninsula. Austria adopts all arts to attract to herself the affection and sympathy of Italy, showing herself a better governor than any of the others that the Italians have had, more natural, more patriotic." [19]

This more sanguine picture of imperial administration is repeated again and again in the Gay pamphlets and journals.[20] We must remind ourselves once more that this is only an aspect, a special point of view; and there is undoubtedly much to be said (and indeed it has been said!) on the other side. But it happens that this point of view in favor of Austria has been notoriously neglected and shelved, and, in the interests of historical impartiality, it will do no harm to allow a fuller presentation of the conservative case.

We are bound to be interested in administrative conditions in the new Kingdom of Italy after 1860. What was the real character of the government? What was it doing for the good of the people? To what extent was it building up a strong and united nation? [21] In answer to these ques-

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 280, quoting Carlo Vitalini, *L'Ancora d'Italia*, (Turin, 1851), p. 111. On the cognate topic of Neapolitan Bourbon rule the liberal Milanese daily *Il Pungolo*—another rare item in the Gay collection—makes some interesting admissions. For example, the journal's Neapolitan correspondent reports, under date of June 7, 1859, that a strong section of the Neapolitan liberals are in sympathy with Francesco II, and are urging the people to co-operate with that monarch's reforms and put aside ideas of revolution (*Il Pung.*, No. 1, June 19, 1859).

[20] For an interesting contrast between imperial and post-1860 rule in Italy, Cf.: Filippo Linati, *Intorno alle condizioni fatte ai maestri municipali dalla legge scolastica delli 13 novembre 1859; considerazioni* (Parma, Tipo. Cavour di P. Grazioli, 1861). The new government, by a law of Nov. 13, 1859, reduced the salaries of the professors in the secondary schools of Lombardy. The professors complained bitterly against the measure, and made much use of the argument that, under the ancient Lombard legislation they had been accorded stipends much more just. Under the new regime of liberty the teaching body had less liberty and security than they enjoyed under the old provincial laws (*ibid.*, p. 5).

[21] Some items in the Gay Collection answering these questions: a) Seven volumes of contemporary pamphlets entitled *Sicily 1861-1870;* b) Six volumes

tions the Gay collection contains an abundance of contemporary testimony. Among the most useful of this latter testimony is that of *Il Pungolo*, already mentioned. Mr. Gay says that his is the only complete run of this daily in existence, and that it was acquired by him from the editor of the journal. The special significance of *Il Pungolo* is the double fact that it is wholeheartedly in favor of all the fundamental principles of the new liberal Italy, while at the same time it engages in pungent criticisms of the actual administrations in power from 1860 onward. We are presented with the spectacle of a thoroughgoing liberal organ expressing its continuous dissatisfaction and discouragement in regard to the actual results of the liberal political, economic, and social program from the inception of the new regime until 1880 and beyond.[22]

> We have a Minghetti who professes liberal doctrines in political economy, and in governing is a *monopolizzatore feroce* ... We have ministers of the interior, of Grazia and of Giustizia who propose laws for the public security so tyrannical as to remind us of the times and policies of the Pope and the Bourbons ... The minister Cantelli declared privately that we had had since 1860 a long and sorrowful experience of arbitrary government without civil or moral betterment, and it had contributed to augment the hates, wraths, private enmities, and discrediting of the government (Jan. 1, 1875, "Lettera da Roma".)
>
> [After complaining of the *"ingerenza governativa"*, the article *"L'Europa* nel 1875" concludes]: "... All, more or less, [of the other European states] ... progress, and hence liberty and civilization announce new triumphs. When shall we see the day in which we shall be able to say the same of the three sisters of the Latin race?" (Jan. 1, 1875.)
>
> The government's heavy taxation has caused the closing of many factories (Jan. 1, 1875, "Cronaca interna".) If this condition continues, "a considerable number of native industrialists will be reduced to inertia, and

entitled *Neapolitan Provinces, 1861-1872;* c) Naples, *1861-1869*, one vol.; d) *Brigandage in Italy, Contemp. Pamphl., 1862-1877*, one vol., and *Brigandage in Italy, Contemp. Pamphl., 1859-1878;* e) *Italy, 1881, Contemp. Pamphl.*, one vol.; *Italy, 1882-1883, Contemp. Pamphl.*, one vol.; *Italy, 1884-1886, C. P.*, one vol.; *Italy, 1887-1888, C. P.*, one vol.; *Italy, 1889-1891, C. P.*, one vol. Also, Wm. Nelthorpe Beauclerk, *An Account of the Present Agricultural Condition of the Kingdom*, (London, 1888); *Le seicento delegazioni governative. Osservazioni del Senatore Carlo Cadorna sul disegno di Legge della Commissione della Camera dei Deputati intorno al riordinamento dell' amministrazione centrale e provinciale dello Stato*, (Florence, Eredi Botta, 1869); *Dell' Italia; giornale napolitano e delle sue importanti corrispondenze di Roma; osservazioni politico-critiche* di P. Ugo Pianel Basseleti, (Turin, Giovanni Borgarelli, 1868). This latter work is of special interest inasmuch as it urges, with a view to remedying the evils of unification, the example of Switzerland and the American Union.

[22] The following are some typical extracts:

thousands of workers will be thrown out of employment" (*ibid.*) While in other countries the government aids industry without killing private competition, in Italy the complete contrary occurs. The party of the Right, which for fifteen years has held the government, has had but one fixed aim—that of maintaining itself in power; and to this aim it has sacrificed all, "squandering inconsiderately every national resource, consuming the present, mortgaging the future ...". (*ibid.*).

The following is a surprising admission to have been made by a liberal journal in 1875:

> And today ... the nation sees with grief that no one of those hopes of 1860 is yet realized, and it blames with reason that party which ... has not known how to use its power except to the common damage. The nation remembers that there has been spent over 20 millions of lire, that there has been inconsiderately wasted all the property of the State, that there has been sucked dry every source of good ... that the imposts have been more than doubled, that ... today we are yet far from having touched the mid-point of our woes.[23]

It must be noted, of course, in favor of the government, that *Il Pungolo*, in 1875, was speaking for the opposition Left, and the adverse criticism might therefore be somewhat open to the charge of partisanship. But, significantly, after the accession of the Left to power in the following year, the journal's complaints are not appreciably lessened. In early 1878, for instance, an editorial bewails the fact that "we have been awaiting reforms for 18 years, and, after 20 months of a Left ministry, we are still awaiting them".[24]

A few months later we read of the "misery and wretchedness which marks all political life in Italy".[25] The government appears to be struck with a *quasi impotenza;* the *Camera* is a prey to factions and personal hatreds.[26] The liberal organ, speaking of its own partisans in power, is convinced that

> ... the political class of Italy, or that part of it, at least, which today holds power, by virtue or by vice of the elections, is undergoing a period of sensible decadence. [There is a] ... confusion of criteria, a struggle of disordinate aspirations, a shuffling vortex of personal ambitions, and the awakening of the pretentious vanity of all ... All these ... symptoms ... reveal themselves in the divers manifestations of our parliamentary life, and ... provide a most serious augury for the future ...[27]

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*, Jan. 4, 1878, "La Conciliazione".

[25] *Ibid.*, Apr. 23, 1878, "La riforma elettorale".

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Il Pungolo*, Apr. 23, 1878, "La riforma elettorale".

This is indeed a more sober estimate of the Italian revolution than that with which we are usually presented in the pages of modern historians. It is an estimate which merits its share of attention and study. And nowhere, perhaps, is there a wider opportunity for such study than in the Harvard Library.

Nor is this examination of the other side of the Italian story a task of merely academic interest. We behold today an Italian nation obviously turned aside from its highest ideals and native integrity. What are the roots of this great and sorrowful betrayal by a people (or at least by its political leaders) of its better and higher self? May not the answer be found in the fact—so luminously displayed in the Gay materials—that the nation, in its new birth in 1860-1870, rejected some of the most essential of its elements of strength—the element of Catholicity, the element of regional autonomy, and the element of an ancient tradition of conservative rule?

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II

Some Notes on Lord Acton Suggested by a Recent Book [1]

In one of his letters to Mary Gladstone, Lord Acton wrote that he had no literary ability, and that his only gift was that of sticking endless slips of paper into innumerable books and putting larger bits of paper into black boxes. The witnesses to this gift—the bits of paper housed in black boxes—have been preserved, and they constitute, in the reviewer's opinion, a particularly interesting historical source.

Mr. Lally consulted neither this source nor any other unpublished material. This may be explained by the nature of his work as he outlines it. It represents a valuable and welcome publication, though the reviewer must wonder why it was not provided with an index. It is, however, to be regretted that among the published sources Lally failed to avail himself of some of the more recent publications on Lord Acton, above all of the two books by U. Noack, *Geschichtswissenschaft und Wahrheit* (Frankfort, 1935), and *Katholizität und Geistesfreiheit* (Frankfort, 1936), the sixth chapter of the *Whig Interpretation of History* (London, 1931) by the Cambridge historian, H. Butterfield, and E. L. Woodward's "The Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth Century" in *Politica*, IV (September, 1939). To these studies might be added two articles by the reviewer in the *Cambridge Historical Journal*, VI (1940), and the *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVII (July, 1941). All this research, with the exception of the very discerning chapter of Butterfield cited, has been made on the basis of unpublished material, and all of it is concerned with those very aspects of Acton's thought which Lally desired to sketch in his book. Finally, though the reviewer does not feel entitled to insist too closely on the matter of bibliography, it should be added that, for the life of Doellinger, of whom no scholarly biography exists, Lally has failed to consult the more recent studies by W. Goetz in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXVIII (1928), and F. Vigener in *Beihefte zur Historischen Zeitschrift*, VII (1926).

It may be due to such omissions that the picture which Lally presents of Lord Acton's life is apt to strike the modern scholar as oversimplified. For example, concerning his relations with Doellinger, the point has already been made by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence in the Introduction to their edition of Acton's *History of Freedom* (p. xiv), that Acton, in the eighties,

[1] F. E. Lally, *As Lord Acton Says* (Newport, Rhode Island: Remington Ward. 1942. Pp. viii, 300. $3.00.)

discovered that a disagreement existed between himself and the venerable German historian on the very topics which the British historian considered basic. It may well have been that Acton's disappointment in this regard is back of his remark that he never had a contemporary.

As for the unpublished correspondence of Acton with Doellinger, mentioned by Lally, it may be stated that the volume containing this correspondence has been ready for publication for many years but the publication has had to be postponed. It is upon this same correspondence that the article of Woodward, mentioned above, is based. He was able to consult the unpublished letters—letters which have been termed by the editors of the first volume of the correspondence as the most important ever written by Acton.

Another point in Acton's life which the reader of Lally's volume might wish more fully discussed, particularly from the point of view of its political significance, is the friendship between Acton and Gladstone, which is barely mentioned by the author. And no mention whatever is made of Acton's connection with Minghetti, the Italian liberal Catholic statesman, who had an especially interesting political career and who, among other things, headed the last government of the Italian Right. The important correspondence between these two men has, if the reviewer is rightly informed, likewise been preserved, although it is still unpublished.

The question of the authorship of the Quirinus Letters, which Lally mentions (p. 85 f.), may perhaps be solved after a study has been made of the reports which Acton sent from Rome to the British Government. Odo Russell, the official British representative at Rome, commented on the part played by Acton at the Council, saying that whatever the liberal Catholics might be able to achieve "will be mainly due" to Acton's influential activity (Rome, 1870, June 18, British Foreign Office).

As concerns Lally's evaluation of Acton's scholarly achievements, there can be, of course, no objection to his appreciation of Acton's "freshness and sincerity" which he rightly emphasizes (p. 204). But there may be some to whom the judgment that Lord Acton was "certainly the first historical scholar of his time" (p. 2) will appear exaggerated, particularly if one thinks of such contemporaries as Ranke, Burckhardt, and Fustel de Coulanges. The author fails to point out in Acton a certain weakness in reference to historical principles. This is far from saying that Acton lacked basic points of view. We may remember his remark (cited by Lally, p. viii) to Mary Gladstone that "all understanding of history depends on one's understanding the forces that make it, of which religious forces are the most active and the most definite.' On another occasion he wrote, "Church History is to Universal History as the soul to the body; it gives connection and importance to the events of Universal History."[2] What

[2] Cf. the reviewer's article in *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVII (1941), 168.

Acton lacked in this regard was the will to carry through these basic convictions: we have only to consult his plan for the *Cambridge Modern History* to see his embarrassment when faced with the problem of working out these conceptions (cf. Lally, pp. 161 f.).

And finally the "rigid accuracy" which Lally attributes to Acton (p. 208) is precisely the point which is apt to be challenged at Cambridge today. Professor G. M. Trevelyan, who had studied with Acton and who as Regius Professor at Cambridge holds the chair to which Acton had been appointed in 1895, once told the reviewer that Acton had said that it was the Jesuits who had murdered Pellegrino Rossi, the liberal minister of Pius IX. This statement was highly interesting to Professor Trevelyan, who is also famous as a Risorgimento historian, and he made all possible inquiries into the matter without, however, finding the slightest justification for it. According to Professor Trevelyan, Acton believed much too easily in the anecdote as an historical source, and for this reason he is not always to be relied upon. One should not consider a fact as trustworthy simply because it is to be found in Lord Acton's papers.

Lally quotes the reminiscence of Viscount Morley (p. 189), who states that an historian who once visited the library of the Regius Professor reported on the number of pigeonholes to be seen; there were cabinets with literally thousands of compartments. And the visitor concluded: "it is better to have produced one solid monograph on the minutest point ... than to have accumulated for forty years unwritten learning that goes down to the grave and is lost." But did this learning go down to the grave? Those thousands of compartments may be identical with the black boxes mentioned by Acton—if so, they may still be seen today in the library of the University of Cambridge. In them are to be found, together with excerpts from books which he had studied, Acton's own observations and reflections, as well as parts of correspondence otherwise unknown. Many of these boxes bear such inscriptions as "Vaticana," "On Reading," "Ethics of Politics," "1870," "German Historians," "Ideal Catholicism," "Liberal Catholicism," "Doellinger" (there are many of these), etc. Noack has gone through the contents of some of these boxes; the reviewer, of others. But the larger part has still not been consulted, and until the whole assortment has been thoroughly studied it will not be possible really to trace the evolution of Lord Acton's thought. In the meantime they offer possibilities for many monographs,[3] and these need not be concerned with "the minutest point."

Since Lally's book includes an interesting chapter on the British historian's library, the reviewer would like to take the liberty of adding some observations, taken from the unpublished notes which are concerned with

[3] The writer hopes to submit an article on Doellinger based on some of this material to the *Catholic Historical Review* for a future issue.

books and reading. In 1883, when he made up his much-discussed list of the "Hundred Best Books," Acton expressed the belief that these books, if "thoroughly taken in, should be the beginning of a new life and should make a new man." This statement represents his basic attitude in regard to books and reading.[4] On one occasion he stated: "I would only recommend books that lead up to man" (MSS 5472). Again he formulated a desire to offer "writers that go to the making of mind and character, not only of knowledge and opinion" (MSS 5440).[5] He called that history the best "which makes us familiar with the greatest minds," and he gave as examples Mommsen, Guizot, Macaulay, Tocqueville, and Taine (MSS 4866). He noted: "At an age when the character is yet forming [such books] may be read without changing opinion; they can hardly be read without changing character." Several times he insisted "that a man may not read what he likes" (MSS 5472), and he went on to note: "excitators, not authorities ... read Stahl not to become a Conservative, but to understand the meaning of Conservative thought at its best. Read Laurant[6] not to become a skeptic, but to see the way of the world as men see it who stand apart from the current of common conflict;" or at another time: "a free trader wants Adam Smith or Mill. Better give him Sismondi or Carey.[7] A liberal, a democrat craves for Brougham and Macaulay. What he ought to have is Stahl. Lubbock[8] gives tools for the mind to use; I give forces to form the mind" (MSS 5440). Perhaps his conviction of the dignity of reading is best summed up in the sentence: "a man must feel

[4] Acton's several attempts at a list of the best books (or of those which have been pronounced the best) have been kept in MSS 5440. The Acton notes are quoted according to the catalogue of the Anderson Room in the library of the University of Cambridge.

[5] MSS 4929 and 5440 have already been used by U. Noack.

[6] Fr. J. Stahl, philosopher of law and politician (1802-1855), leader of the Prussian Conservatives. François Laurent, Belgian historian and jurist (1810-1887); for his historical attitude, cf. *Etudes sur l'histoire de l'humanité* (Bruxelles, 1850-70), 18 vols. On him, cf. R. Flint, *History of the Philosophy of History* (New York, 1894), pp. 680 ff.

[7] J. C. Sismondi, historian and economist (1773-1842), who attacked the capitalistic system. Henry C. Carey, American economist (1793-1879), who favored protectionism.

[8] Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avesbury) was the author of another list of the hundred best books. He criticized Acton's list in *Pall Mall Magazine*, XXXXVI (1905), 641 ff., calling it "not only top-heavy, but one-sided ... I admit that Lord Acton's books are ... good books and well worth reading; but I confidently submit that they are not the best worth reading." Lord Avesbury's list, which has a greater breadth of aspect, lacks, at the same time, the strong personal note to be found in Acton's.

incomplete and incompetent if he has not felt the touch of Plato, St. Augustine, Hegel, Penn" (MSS 5440).

Acton continued reflecting on the results which it is possible to attain by right reading (MSS 5472): "it is by the choice of books that we are emancipated from our masters;" "no authority will be left in the usual sense, no writer not balanced by other writers;" "no security in favour of particular opinions; but security that no opinion will be rejected from ignorance, interest, prejudice, or passion." In connection with the last remark Acton observes: "Emerson calls literature a record of the best thoughts; or is it the best material for thinking?" And this point of view is carried to its ultimate conclusion: "Destroy great men. Dissolve reputations by tracing the pedigrees of ideas" (MSS 5472). "The function of history is not to cause emotion: katharsis" (MSS 4929). And in contrast to the usual attitude of those who wrote and read history in his time, he stated that history is "the preserver of forgotten and defeated causes" (MSS 5472).

The reviewer believes that a familiarity with these notes would have cleared up some of the points which Lally raises in regard to Acton's style (p. 200 f.). There are not a few paragraphs written by the British historian which read rather as if they were composed from a series of such notes, prepared long before. The "sentence-load" to which Lally refers may likewise be explained in this way. Acton's own opinions about the historian's style is to be seen in another of his notes: "whenever you have written a particularly fine passage, strike it out." And he goes on to comment that "the advice was meant for historians. It belongs to another place ... it is magnificent; but it is not history" (MSS 4929).

"The strongest minds," so notes Lord Acton (MSS 4929), "are those that have known how to 'verarbeiten,' to avail themselves most effectively of previous ideas. We know what St. Thomas owes to Maimonides; Dante to St. Thomas ... (etc.)." Here we have one more indication that Acton was confident that a deep preoccupation with the ideas of others, a concern with the problem of right reading, was no unworthy task. And yet, in the same little black box, we find the admonition: "Est quaedam etiam nesciendi ars et scientia."

FREDERIC ENGEL-JANOSI

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BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The Social Background of the Old Testament. By DAVID JACOBSON, Ph.D. (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press. 1942. Pp. xii, 327. $2.00.)

The aspects of the Hebrew national existence of which Dr. Jacobson treats are those family, social, and religious ties which are the primary interest of the cultural anthropologist. Such a study is necessarily subject to many limitations when it must be built exclusively on a small body of ancient literature, even though that literature be the Bible. The author is not without predecessors in examining the biblical evidence on these points—notably W. Robertson Smith, Sir James Frazer, G. Jacob, and Julius Wellhausen. The primary merit of the present work—and it is a considerable one—is to have made available in one carefully documented volume the evidence adduced and the results arrived at by the scholars named and by the many others students either of the Bible or of human society who have at some time made ventures into this field. The treatment is not altogether even, mainly because a single volume will not admit of exhaustive treatment of the various topics involved. Hebrew marriage, the afterlife in ancient Hebrew belief, and sacrifice among the Hebrews are points which have already called forth a number of volumes, and on which we shall no doubt have more. A study on some such unified topic by the present author, whose grasp of scholarly method is excellent, would be a very welcome complement to this more general survey.

We can be grateful to Dr. Jacobson for disposing of the random attempts of many to point to evidences of a matriarchal system in the Old Testament. Some of the more positive elements of his synthesis, given with a "probably," are too refined and precise to win even a probable assent on the basis of our evidence. With regard to the primitive Semitic ideas of sacrifice, can we really "be reasonably sure that the dominant motives were twofold: first, to offer blood to the deity, probably originally thought of as the ancestral spirits, in order to protect oneself or others; and second, to offer the blood to strengthen the deity, again equated originally with the ancestors" (p. 246)? For one thing, the ritual of blood-sacrifice supposed by the Old Testament in all its parts is far from primitive; and only a bold man will affirm that it is exclusively or even originally Semitic. The first consideration can only be the more true for one who dates Deuteronomy after the exile. Nor can the equation be made between customs of modern

Palestinian and Egyptian peasants, or the Beduin, and biblical usage, on the assumption that the former are relatively primitive; they have been influenced by the penetration, often in degenerated form, of the religious concepts of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. This need not be true to so great an extent of *what* is done (yet cf. the citations on pp. 231, 233, 235); the influence will be felt in the telling *why* it is done, especially when (as is invariably the case) the investigator himself is at least partly preoccupied with the desire to relate his findings to the origins of one, or of all three, of those religious systems. This difficulty is alluded to by the author in another connection (p. 187, n. 149). The *why* that he himself supplies for biblical facts such as the precise nature of the Passover sacrifice belongs in the same category. That "there does not seem to be any evidence that the ancestral spirits were interested in anything more than the firstborn of humans, whose blood they particularly desired" (p. 234), assumes that somewhere we have a historical starting point at which all the evidence points in the one direction stated. A contrary proposition can be formulated with absolute certainty; namely that, quite apart from revelation, no human group to whom we are introduced by the Old Testament ever found life that simple.

PATRICK W. SKEHAN

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The True Life. Sociology of the Supernatural. By LUIGI STURZO. (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press; Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press. 1943. Pp. v, 312. $3.00.)

True life is that of the spirit at its highest level—it is the supernatural life. True sociology is the science of society in its concrete existence and in its historical development. It must, therefore, if it is to be integral and achieve completely its study, include in its investigations all elements and factors—all historical and social facts—which have had concrete manifestation and influenced man in society. The supernatural is such an element, such an historical and social fact. Hence the supernatural falls within the field of sociological investigation. Further, the supernatural is not superimposed on man's natural life but effects a real transformation of human existence and activity. Sociology may undertake special and limited analysis of particular questions without reference to the supernatural, but no analysis of natural life can be complete without such reference. Moreover, analysis alone will never constitute a science of sociology. For this there is need of synthesis, which will make society understandable in its concrete and living complexity. But the supernatural life forms the ultimate synthesis of society, and hence it rightly falls within the scope of sociology.

In his excellent introduction the author makes the foregoing defense of the title of his work and of his position on a delicate and important problem

which will no doubt be challenged by not a few. The challenge by sociologists whose concept of their science is pretty much limited to experimentalism and whose philosophy is frankly positivistic will be little surprising. But it is very likely that challenge may come from Christian sociologists who believe in the supernatural but whose "sociology remains on a purely natural plane—as if a natural society really existed free from any influence of the supernatural, when, on the contrary, all that does exist is a society making a real synthesis with the supernatural". But even if they make such challenge, Christian sociologists will be the better for having read this book.

Don Sturzo divides his work into two parts—"Society in God", and "From Earth to Heaven". There is a majestic sweep in the chapters of the first part—The Supernatural, Vocation, Predestination, Communion, Mystical Union, and The Glory of God. In this part the author acknowledges that he is "trying to seize the essence of the Christian life, and therefore must enter a field essentially theological and mystical". In this part, then, he writes essentially as a theologian. The chapters of the second part are in order—Evil, the World, History, The Incarnation in History, Christianity in History, New Heavens, and a New Earth. In this part the author "considers the ethico-historical problem in the reflection of the supernatural, always so as to elucidate the sociological elements inherent in it." Don Sturzo has established elsewhere his right to the title of sociologist. Here he writes as the integral Christian sociologist, who has not shut his sociology up into an airtight compartment into which the vitalizing spirit of his Christian faith has been unable to penetrate.

PHILIP S. MOORE

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National Patriotism in Papal Teaching. By JOHN J. WRIGHT. (Boston: Stratford Co. 1942. Pp. liii, 358. $3.00.)

This doctoral thesis is a clear and detailed discussion of a very important topic on which comparatively little has been written by Catholics. As the author remarks: "It is surprising, in the light of the importance of the subject, to discover how scattered and scanty is the treatment of the virtue of patriotism in the standard manuals of moral theology". Dr. Wright has, therefore, undertaken the task of explaining the Catholic teaching on national patriotism as it is found in the statements of four recent Popes—Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI.

In the Introduction the author points out the two general tendencies under which the various theories regarding man's relations with civil society can be grouped—the collectivist and the individualist or liberal. Though diametrically opposed, both originate in the repudiation of the divine foun-

dations of social authority. Today collectivism seems to be the more prevalent tendency. By a strange paradox, the responsibility for the moral spoliation of the individual, which has made possible his present susceptibility to collectivism, rests on the shoulders of the nineteenth century liberals, who extolled the idea of personal liberty, yet rejected the Christian philosophy which alone gives meaning to the phrase.

The work is divided into three parts: I. The Nature and Object of Patriotism; II. The Principal Obligations of Modern Patriotism; III. National Patriotism and International Order. Father Wright begins the first part by laying down, as social postulates preliminary to the study of patriotism, the primacy of human personality and the essential unity of the human family. "The community is willed by the Creator as the means to the full development of the individual", said Pope Pius XI. His predecessor, Benedict XV, in his first encyclical put the question: "Who would imagine, as we see the nations thus filled with a hatred of one another, that they are all of one common stock, all of the same nature, all members of the same human family?" The author then investigates the basis of nationalism. He rejects those theories that find the source of nationalism in certain fixed factors which form a group of people into a nation by a kind of scientific determinism—for example, geographical frontiers, identity of language, and unity of "race" or common hereditary characteristics. He also excludes the view that juridical factors or "the state" necessarily determine nationality. The state is not identical with the nation, for there can be a state that includes several nations (like Belgium), or a nation comprising many states, as was Italy before its political unity. Indeed, a state may even be inimical to a nation over which it rules.

The factors which constitute nationality and form the source of national patriotism, Dr. Wright contends, must be *human*, and accordingly must be sought in the intelligence and free will of man. Personal interest, the force by which individual human personality seeks its perfection, is the dominant factor in the rise of nationality and of patriotism. A nation arises from a common wish to live happily, which unites those whose material and intellectual interests, their common good, and the means to attain it, are similar. The members of such a group entertain for one another a special preference; and on the other hand, the national society concurs with the family and the Church in shaping the soul of the individual, so that it may be considered a co-parent. Hence, the individual entertains toward his nation that sentiment which, as a virtue, is designated *pietas erga patriam* or patriotism.

The second part of the work describes four general obligations involved in genuine patriotism—to seek national unity; to Catholicize the father-

land; to collaborate with the established political order; to collaborate in realizing an international order as a means toward the peace and well-being of one's own nation.

In discussing the third of these obligations, Dr. Wright states that, while the Holy See recognizes the legitimacy of the desire of a nation for a government harmonious with its own aspirations and traditions, yet it does not admit a *right* of self-determination by a change of the existing civil order unless the desires of the people to dispose of themselves politically are in harmony, not only with their own good, but also with the good of those to whom they are bound by natural or juridical ties. Even when a nation has unjustly been deprived of its political independence, or exists as a minority within a state which refuses to admit the existence and the rights of its nationality, we cannot always attribute to it a strict right to seek political independence by force. There may be obligations on the part of a nation toward a purely *de facto* government. Such, for example, was the attitude taken by Pope Leo XIII, when he urged the French Catholics to support the Republic in 1892.

In the third part Father Wright expounds the principle that every nation is a part of the human family, and hence cannot have a "destiny" opposed to the common welfare of mankind. He notes that, according to papal teaching, the international community exists, not so much as an aggregate of national communities, as rather a community enjoying its proper existence in transcendence of the relations of the nations to one another, and exacting its own claims directly on the individual simultaneously with and superior to the claims of the national community.

To understand properly the solidarity of the human race, we must consider the supernatural destiny of all men and the common supernatural means of grace, acting as a social bond above all national lines. As the head of all mankind, Christ is the link between every man and every other man. In the Encyclical *Quas Primas*, Pius XI offered the social bond of Christ's kingship as the antidote to the false concept of human society, purely natural in its postulates, which the Pope synthesized under the name of laicism.

Dr. Wright has superbly linked together the various doctrines of his thesis by appropriate excerpts from papal documents. The notes and citations are fully adequate and exact. The work proves that the teachings of the Catholic Church, if studied intelligently and thoroughly, afford the safest guidance to the human mind amid the maze of theories on nationalism and patriotism that prevail in the modern world.

FRANCIS J. CONNELL

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Life of St. Charles Borromeo. By CESARE ORSENIGO. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1943. Pp. ix, 390. $4.00.)

This biography of Milan's great cardinal archbishop does not claim to present anything that had not previously been written about him. The story of his life and activities is well known and necessarily contained in the abundant historical literature on the sixteenth century. Nor does it intend to reappraise the importance of his achievements for the Church during the second half of that century. It merely records those achievements in a very charming and gracious manner. Its chief purpose is to make a "more accurate study of his pastoral labors" and "his rare gift of government." Many anecdotes that are usually found in other biographies are merely mentioned, whereas numerous incidents which other biographers touch upon only lightly are here treated at considerable length.

The saint's family background, his own early life, the century in which he lived, his years as a cardinal in Rome, and even his part in the government of the Church both as secretary to his uncle, Pope Pius IV, and as champion of the Council of Trent during its closing sessions—all are depicted very briefly. The greater portion of the book is taken up with his many activities as archbishop of Milan.

Archbishop Orsenigo's biography of St. Charles was written about thirty-five years ago to commemorate the tercentenary of the saint's canonization. It appeared regularly for more than two years as a series of articles in a monthly review under the direction of Monsignor Achille Ratti, then prefect of the Ambrosian Library and later Pope Pius XI. Perhaps this fact prompted the author to group his materials topically or logically, rather than chronologically or consecutively, as biographies are usually presented.

This arrangement, as Father Gemelli points out in the Preface, has produced "chapters that are distinct and complete pictures." The book could "be called a gallery of pictures, all suitably arranged." The plan, however, has also produced some inconveniences. At times it is necessary to anticipate things that will be treated in a later chapter, or to repeat what has already been mentioned. Quite frequently the reader is disappointed by such promises as "we shall see more of this when . . ." (p. 91), or "of this we will speak later" (p. 94), or "of this we shall have occasion to show" (p. 113), or "to which we shall refer later" (p. 123); and such reminders as "we have already mentioned" (pp. 118, 169), or "we have already had occasion to mention" (p. 221). These are only a few examples.

It is unfortunate, too, that some inaccuracies were not detected before printing. The Council of Trent did not come to a close "in 1564" (p. iv); it had been drawn out not quite "for twenty years" (p. 49), and the Council of Basle was more than "a few years previous" (p. 50). "Careful to prepare most carefully" (p. 191) and "fifteenth century, the age of St. Charles" (p. 273) are due, perhaps, to incorrect translations from the

Italian. The book has no bibliography and only a few footnotes, although quotations from the sources are sprinkled quite liberally throughout the text.

Archbishop Orsenigo has, in his "gallery of pictures," faithfully portrayed the profound sanctity of St. Charles against the background of the sixteenth century. Special attention is given to his relations with the people and clergy of Milan, the members of his own family, the prelates of the Church, and the civil authorities of Lombardy. But above all, the author describes vividly the saint's untiring pastoral zeal for a much-needed reform in the Church and the Province of Milan, as well as his successful efforts to defend the decrees and apply the disciplinary regulations of the Council of Trent.

WILLIAM J. GAUCHE

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Church and State in Fascist Italy. By D. A. BINCHY, Professor of Legal History and Jurisprudence in University College, Dublin. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 774. $9.00.)

Professor Binchy's work is unique in its kind and fills a gap in the critical studies of a most important historical event, the solution of the Roman Question. The author does not deal with antecedents of the problem in very much detail; he only depicts in broad outlines the position of the popes in defending their temporal state from the national surge of the Italian Risorgimento, which closed with the capture of Rome in September, 1870. There then followed fifty-nine years of *dissidio*—sometimes acute, sometimes mild—between the Vatican and the Italian State.

The two outstanding figures in the solution of the Roman Question, Pius XI and Mussolini, come to light in two separate chapters as the *dramatis personae* of the great event. The author dedicates a full chapter to the "Mussolini Brothers", Benito and Arnaldo. In fact the two men complemented each other; Benito was the actor, Arnaldo the prompter—and sometimes a collaborator behind the scenes. From the year 1922 with the election of Pius XI in February and the march on Rome in October, the two figures come into the foreground. Periods of expectations, search for opportunities, trustworthy intermediaries, scholars who prepared the outlines for an understanding—through all these there emerged Cardinal Pietro Gasparri who had already conducted earlier negotiations about the Roman Question with the liberal Premiers Orlando and Nitti between 1919 and 1920. The phases of these six years with their high and low tides are well described from the historical viewpoint as well as from that of a critical evaluation of the facts. In this section and throughout the remainder of the work, Professor Binchy proves to be a real historian, a faithful Cath-

olic, and a keen critic as well. Naturally, of course, there are points which would allow for a difference of opinion.

The first part of the book covers the period of the signature of the Lateran Treaty and the Concordat, their ratifications, and the political controversies which ensued in Italy. The author succeeds admirably in interesting the reader even in details, he is unprejudiced in relating the failings and human side of the characters of the story, and he preserves a balance which gives proportion and clarity to the events.

To Professor Binchy Pius XI was a great pope. Nevertheless, he does not play the role of a panegyrist; on the contrary, he is rather inclined to criticism, he sometimes makes use of irony and sarcasm, and he is always incisive in his epithets. Reading this volume, one has the impression of seeing Pius XI rising up with his imposing figure above the contemporary world and assuming the features of a mediaeval pope. There are not wanting the shades which the author puts into relief with delicate discretion; but it seems to the reviewer that an historical judgment on the work and policies of Pius XI is as yet premature. The reviewer has in mind the historical greatness of the man, not the spiritual value of his pontificate. The position taken by Pius XI in regard to Fascism, while showing that the Pope knew how to stand up against it as he did with the encyclical *Non abbiamo bisogno* of 1931 and the anti-Semite laws of 1938, leaves us perplexed as far as the problems of domestic and international policy are concerned. One might say that Professor Binchy, an historian and critical writer, has here and there portrayed Pius XI's figure with an artist's care.

In the same style is Arnoldo Mussolini's figure drawn, and to some extent also that of the Duce. No wonder, for at the time when Professor Binchy was in Italy studying the solution of the Roman Question on the spot, Mussolini's policy was praised and he was believed to be a great man all over Europe, especially in the European and American press. It is Professor Binchy's merit, however, that he did not yield to the clericals' enthusiasm, but on the contrary that he is caustic and incisive when judging their sentimentalism and blindness. He, better than any other Catholic historian, has been able to discern the tragic error of clerico-Fascism, and to bring into clear light the anti-Catholic and immoral background of Fascism. This becomes evident in the second and third sections of the volume which contain a clever and profound criticism of both the Treaty and the Concordat and of the various political and religious implications of those documents.

In these pages there is much to learn about the history of the Church as well as of Italy, both because the author strips bare the legends which have run through books, periodicals, and newspapers, and because of his well-balanced judgments—often stinging and severe—which deserve to be imitated in studies of this kind. Among the most interesting chapters the

reviewer would call attention to the following in Part III: "Incompatibilities," "The Religion of the State," "Fascist Education", and the chapter entitled, "Racialist Controversy."

The last section of the volume has the title, "Balance to Date (1929-1939)," and it closes with Pope Pius XI's death in February of the latter year. The question of the Abyssinian War and the stand taken on that occasion both by the Pope and the Italian bishops is dealt with objectively, notwithstanding the polemic tone that appears here and there. The problem whether, and to what extent, the Lateran Treaty during this first decade served the cause of the Church better than the preceding situation between 1870 and 1922, has today but a speculative interest. *Factum infectum fieri nequit.* Every practical solution has its failings and weaknesses. But the advantage for Italy, as well as for the world, of having the Roman Question closed and a Pope theoretically claiming a political temporal state, is far superior to all the inconveniences which have arisen or may arise. Professor Binchy tries to defend Pius XI from the charge of having favored Fascism, and he succeeds in this particular to a certain extent. Political passions have been, and still are, so burning in favor or against the Fascist ideology that the task of an impartial historian is rendered almost impossible. Nevertheless, Professor Binchy combines historical reliability with a broad juridical and political understanding so well that his work is invaluable even in those matters where it cannot be said to be definitive.

At the end of the volume the reader asks himself: what is going to happen to the Lateran Treaty when this war is over and what will be the lot of the Concordat with the Italian State? Professor Binchy states that, "the outlook for the Church in Italy whether under a Fascist or anti-Fascist dispensation, is bleak and menacing . . . ;" but he adds for non-Catholics that, "in a country so long and so intimately associated with the Rock of Peter there is even less room for pessimism than elsewhere." The Bibliography and the Index of the volume are good and will add to its usefulness.

LUIGI STURZO

Jacksonville, Florida

Religion in Soviet Russia, 1917-1942. By N. S. TIMASHEFF. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. xii, 171. $2.00.)

Written by a sociologist of Fordham University, this work is a contribution to the social history of our times. But in both the importance of its subject, the ability of its treatment, and the freedom from rivals in the field it transcends the common run of sociological treatises.

The religious question has been badly neglected in the handful of useful books that have appeared about contemporary Russia. The few journalists

who escaped the prevalent disease of proletarianism have not been so independent of the equally prevalent religious anemia. By a happy coincidence there appeared almost at the same time as this work the English translation of the religious section of Miliukov's solid work. Mr. Timasheff takes up where Miliukov leaves off. We are thus in a position to make more accurate judgments than formerly upon the religious condition of one of the most unhappy provinces of a very unhappy world.

The author begins with a brief and clear statement of Communism's ideological opposition to religion and then proceeds to a narrative chapter in which the actual history of the opposition is laid before us. From the revolution of 1917 to the present the official attitude has been always anti-religious. But there have been advances and retreats of aggression according to the exigencies of domestic and foreign policy. The stages of acute persecution were four, the last of which took place in 1937. The year 1939 marked a change so definite as to be entitled the New Religious Policy. This is described as a form of partial compromise. It was brought about partly by the government's recognition of its own failure and partly by the events that led to Russia's participation on both sides of the present war. It implies in no sense a conversion of her leaders. It leaves the churches in Russia still bleeding from their wounds. It leaves against religion all the weight of official disapproval. It engages against the churches all the influence of education. It maintains its iron opposition to any form of political success for anyone not professedly godless. Even the admired scientific career it closes except to the irreligious. It remains always open to the government to re-adopt the cruel methods of repression which have already done so much harm.

One of the factors in bringing about the compromise, such as it is, was the heroic resistance of believers, to which Professor Timasheff gives a most interesting chapter. Another was Russia's dependence upon other countries, particularly ours, for help in her "struggle for democracy," currently so advertised by our publicists. He does not draw the lesson, but we may, that this involves us in very serious responsibilities. Many of our politicians are much enamored of the idea that the United States has international responsibilities. The reading of this book might indicate a direction more fortunate than most in which to look for these responsibilities.

The author is to be praised not only for a very substantial addition to our knowledge, but for succinctness, perfect clarity in exposé, and very careful documentation.

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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Celestial Homespun. By KATHERINE BURTON. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1943. Pp. 393. $3.00.)

What is the norm for the evaluation of a fictionized biography? This is a question that has occupied the attention of historians and scholars for some time. Clearly, such a biography has no intention of being a documented, scientific presentation of a man's life and labors. It presumes, for the most part, the existence of such researches and culls their findings stripped of academic verbiage, copious footnotes, lengthy verbatim quotations, unending *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, etc. It offers to the general public a readable, interesting story in novelized form and provides an account for those who would never pore over pages of meticulously documented findings. Katherine Burton has chosen this medium of expression in her latest volume, *Celestial Homespun.* She has given in readable fashion the story of one of the most important and influential figures in the Catholic Church of the late 1800's, Isaac Thomas Hecker, the founder of the Paulist Fathers. Himself a convert, Father Hecker was a man of tremendous vision, indomitable spirit, and courageous zeal. A contemporary of Brownson, Emerson, Ripley, Thoreau, Alcott, and Dana, all of whom he knew very well, he discovered the truth and peace he was seeking not in the congenial atmosphere of Brook Farm, nor in the eccentric severity of Fruitlands, but in the divinely established Church of Jesus Christ. This truth he labored to bring to others who like himself were seeking something they could never describe, but only feel. First as a Redemptorist, then as a Paulist, he kept that ideal clearly before him and strove up to the time of his death to utilize every means to achieve its realization.

This is the main theme of *Celestial Homespun.* Were the student of history to apply strict norms of criticism to this work, he might question the accuracy of the author's chronology, her interpretation of documentary material, and her wisdom in the selection of sources. That would be unfair, since she makes no pretense to present an historical monograph nor an exhaustive piece of research. She is simply a biographer who popularizes her material in fictionized form. Through this means she has provided for the reading public a far more interesting account of Hecker the man and the priest than did previous biographers in their more factual presentation of this extraordinary character.

There is, however, one particular section of this book which causes the reader to pause—the separation of Hecker and his four associates from the Redemptorists. And as one reads that account he cannot help asking himself: Is this a balanced account of such a consequential matter? The author is writing a biography and a biographer should be familiar with both sides of any important question that vitally affects the subject of the study.

There is, of course, abundant evidence of material from the Paulist Fathers' Archives and printed works from the same source that have been used in this volume. But in her Bibliography Mrs. Burton indicates that she did not consult a single Redemptorist presentation of this critical episode. Naturally such lack of investigation precludes a judicious presentation of that crisis in Father Hecker's life.

In short, though this volume is pleasant reading and informative, there is still, in the words of Howard Mumford Jones, "ample room, both among the devout reading public and among students of American cultural development for a brilliant book on a man ... who was, with Orestes A. Brownson, the most distinguished convert (at least on the intellectual plane) from transcendentalism to Roman Catholicism."

VINCENT F. HOLDEN

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Loretto in the Rockies. By SISTER M. CELESTINE CASEY, S.L., A.M., and SISTER M. EDMOND FERN, S.L., A.M., Ph.D. (Denver: Loretto Heights College. 1943. Pp. xv, 314. $3.50.)

Loretto Heights College in Denver is celebrating its golden jubilee. This book is a record of those years. The school has done a good educational job in Colorado and its sister states during the half century since 1893. The Loretto Sisters, starting, as usual, with nothing but hope and faith in God, built a fine Catholic institution for women. The graduates of Loretto have, over these fifty years, frequently fulfilled the hopes of their instructors. The Catholic women who received their degrees from Loretto Heights are certainly, in an outstanding degree, the leaders of Catholic activity in their part of the West. No one lives long in Catholic circles within a two hundred mile radius of Denver without quickly realizing the importance of Loretto Heights to the Catholics of the area. Let it then, before discussing the book, be recorded that the people of the West owe Loretto Heights College a debt of gratitude.

It is the opinion of this reviewer, who lives in Denver and therefore takes his life in his hands to so express himself, that the book does not do justice to the subject. The primary fault of the work is its purely local appeal. There are only two chapters which would interest anyone who is not a Loretto Heights alumna, a Sister of Loretto, or a person who resides in the area. This fault is not due to the subject of the book, but to the manner of treatment. Loretto Heights "grew up with the country". Therefore, her history is in great measure her influence on the raw West. Yet there is little of that in the book. There is too much about too many people and too little about Loretto and the country.

The authors were poorly advised in their choice of a printer. The proof-reading, in the copy at hand, is not good, e. g., pp. 194-195. There are several mistakes in names, e. g., Father William A. Forstall should be Armand W. Forstall; Denver University should be The University of Denver, when the official title is used, as in the book. The volume sells for $3.50 which is too much to ask for a work of this character.

JOSEPH P. DONNELLY

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GENERAL HISTORY

A History of Historical Writing. Volume I. *From the Earliest Times to the End of the Seventh Century;* Volume II. *The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.* By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, with the Collaboration of Bernard J. Holm. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1942. Pp. xvi, 676; ix, 674. $14.00.)

The author, who died some months before the publication of this work, states in his Preface that his purpose is to "offer a survey of the changing conceptions of history, and of the various fashions of writing history, from earliest antiquity to the outbreak of the First World War." He expresses the hope that "this work may encourage the establishment of more formal academic courses on History and Historians. For those who wish to go further copious bibliographies have been provided." He sums up well the need of a work like the present one when he says: "Nowhere, however, in any language has there yet appeared a general and sustained account such as this, fitting each author into the general intellectual background of his age, and assigning to him his place in the development of the contemporary historiography."

The task of the reviewers, accordingly, has been to examine these volumes in the light of the purpose and scope indicated in the Preface and to give here a critical summary of their findings. Since they have found much which is open to adverse criticism, it is to be regretted that the author can no longer reply.

The reviewers have only admiration for the purpose and scope of the work as described in the Preface. Such a work, if properly executed, would be an indispensable reference tool, an invaluable manual for graduate students in history, and even an interesting book for the more serious general reader. The two volumes are written with the enthusiasm and love of a scholarly teacher for his favorite subject, and they are written in a smooth and easy style which is never monotonous and which makes one forget that many pages are little more than bare lists of names and titles. The books contain a great mass of information which is not so conveniently presented anywhere else. Yet so much that is bad is mixed with the good that they cannot serve the purpose intended until they have

been subjected to fundamental revision. Within the limits of a review it would be impossible to discuss such a large work page by page. Therefore, it will be sufficient to present some general criticisms of each volume and then to cite some specimen errors in detail.

Volume I. The poorest section is Book I, Antiquity. The treatment of the Ancient Orient is very superficial and is based in large part on antiquated books and articles. All the Latin historians of the Roman Empire down to the end of the fifth century A. D. are discussed in chronological order, and then the author proceeds to take up the Greek historians of the Roman period, beginning with Polybius, in the same manner. A formal separation between the Greek and Latin historians of the Empire is thus set up, although actually they should have been treated together, since they represent a unified culture, and have, for the most part, a common outlook. In his handling of Christian historiography in antiquity and of ecclesiastical historians in general throughout his first volume, the author again, as in his textbook on the Middle Ages, betrays that lack of understanding and sympathy which has become so characteristic of contemporary secularistic thinking.

The Preface states that the present work is to deal with the writing of history as history. Therefore, the student and general reader will be surprised or confused when they find that the author has included a number of works which were not written as formal history, although they are in themselves most precious sources of history, e. g., the Theodosian Code, the Letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, the Letters of Synesius, etc. His treatment of mediaeval historiography is really a combination of historiography and critical analysis of historical source materials of all kinds. On the other hand, one finds no formal treatment of Greek and Latin inscriptions as examples of historical writing or as historical sources. There is not even mention of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, although this work comes definitely under the head of formal history writing.

The importance of the bibliographies is stressed in the Preface, and they should and could be very valuable guides. Those supplied, especially for Book I, however, are more or less unsatisfactory. The reviewer criticizes in particular their hodge-podge character. Old and even antiquated books are listed as the sole authorities, or side by side with newer and better treatments, and references that should have been given are not given at all or are listed in later chapters. Some typical examples will be cited below.

Unfortunately, this volume contains numerous errors of commission and omission in detail. It will suffice to point out some typical examples. All references are to Volume I. Page 3: Sanchoniatho did not belong to the Hellenistic Age, but lived, so far as we know, in the seventh or sixth century B. C. Page 3, footnote 2: The work of Isaac Cory is completely

antiquated and should never have been used at all. The fragments of the Greek historians dealing with the Orient should have been cited according to Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (not mentioned until p. 104), or, wherever possible, according to Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, with his invaluable commentaries. Jacoby's work is not cited at all! Page 5, footnote 9: Here and elsewhere the author relies on the English translation of Teuffel, published in 1890. For Roman literature he should have used and cited the later German editions of Teuffel, but above all Schanz-Hosius-Krüger. The latter work is mentioned in one of the bibliographies, but does not seem to have been used. Page 8, footnote 13: Both Rawlinson and Birch are completely antiquated. Page 19: The statement that "Darius was the earliest Mede known to history" is, of course, wrong. Page 40: It should have been made clear that the Greek text of Pseudo-Callisthenes belongs to antiquity and that a Latin version was made in the Middle Ages. Page 45: The assertion that "Alexander the Great had no influence upon India" is not borne out by Tarn's, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*—a work not cited by the author. Page 47: The statement that "*Atthides* was a term used to define works of local or antiquarian research" is very misleading, if not wrong. Page 59, footnote 14: The bibliography on Polybius is unsatisfactory. No mention is made, e.g., of the excellent treatment of Polybius in Christ-Schmid and the chapter on Polybius in the *Cambridge Ancient History*. On the other hand a reference is given to the few lines on Polybius in the *Companion to Greek Studies*! Page 93: Although Baynes is cited in footnote 5, the author would seem to be unfamiliar with the recent literature on the *Historia Augusta* and the rejection of plural authorship. Page 98: The paragraph beginning, "At the end of the fifth century...", is particularly bad for the amount of erroneous information which it contains. Page 105: As Professor Swain pointed out in the January, 1943, issue of the *American Historical Review*, the treatment of Josephus here contains a number of errors within a few lines. Page 122: Would any biblical scholar, however extreme, now maintain that "The Gospels are of very slight historical value"? Page 125: The paragraphs on the weakness of church history is an excellent example of the author's secularistic manner of thinking. Page 126: The bald statement, "Worse still mendacity even became a virtue. Some of the Christian Fathers do not hesitate to attribute mendacity to God and to Jesus", is shocking and utterly misleading. In fairness, an historian who claims that he has fitted "each author into the intellectual background of his age" should never have made such an unqualified assertion. Professor Thompson refers to two passages in Harnack's *History of Dogma* in support of his statement, but Harnack was dealing solely with certain patristic ideas on the doctrine of the Redemption. He has, therefore,

given Harnack's censorious remarks—incidentally they are not justified by an impartial and thorough examination of the evidence — an unwarranted general application. The majority of the Fathers, and above all the greatest of them, St. Augustine, were uncompromising in their condemnation of mendacity as ordinarily understood. Cf. L. Godefroy's article, "Mensonge", in Vacant-Mangenot-Amann, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, X (Paris, 1928), 555-569, especially 555-563. Page 133: The author is wrong in saying that the *Tripartite History* has not been preserved. It is available in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*! Page 137: "The state was man-made — Cain founded the first city — and therefore evil." Such an absolute assertion gives a false view of Augustine's teachings on the state and civil society. Page 145: The sentence, "For between 429 and 694 Visigothic Spain was a priest-ridden land," and the following sentence could not have honestly been written had the author consulted Ziegler's monograph, *Church and State in Visigothic Spain*. Page 158, footnote 15: Neither here nor elsewhere does the author refer to Kenney's epoch-making *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*. Although Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* is the standard work of reference in its field, it is not mentioned before the bibliography covering the German historians of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries (p. 180).

The reviewer of Volume I has not attempted to be exhaustive in his criticisms. On the contrary, he has given a sampling only of some shortcomings he has noted in a cursory examination of the earlier sections of Volume I. He believes that a closer reading would reveal further errors of various kinds, but he feels that it would be unprofitable to continue with this sort of investigation.

Volume II. Like any other historian of literature, the writer on the history of historical writing is faced by the difficulty of establishing the principles according to which he will make his choice. He may look for some problems which dominate the period he wishes to consider; in this case he will group the writers and works according to their relationship to these problems; or he may base his account on the writers themselves—the ones whom he considers representative of the sphere of literature with which he is concerned. The first method will be threatened by the possibility of dryness and lack of life; the second, by the danger that the personalities of the writers may not be strong enough to give a homogeneity to the narrative. The latter holds true especially in the sphere of historical writing, where very valuable contributions were made by men whose characters are not of any special human interest. Thompson, however, has chosen this second method, as did Fueter and Gooch. Moreover, he also follows his predecessors in that he discusses hardly at all the intellectual and philosophical background of the historians with whom he is concerned. Thus it happens that a history of historical writing gives

as much space to Karl Hegel (p. 398 ff.), the author of a valuable *Geschichte der Städteverfassung von Italien*, as to his father the philosopher (p. 205), noting in a footnote that there exists an "enormous mass of literature' on him—which could hardly have been said of the son. Karl Marx and his historical theory are discussed in the chapter on the historians of eastern Europe and the Balkans (p. 628 ff.). Men of outstanding importance in historical writing, like Turgot, Condorcet, Adam Müller, or J. J. Bachofen, are not even mentioned—or, like E. Burke, are mentioned without being discussed in any way!

It is, of course, always easy for a reviewer of a literary history to point out writers who are not discussed, but would not Döllinger's colleague at Munich, E. Lasaulx, who greatly impressed Acton and Burckhardt, deserve to be discussed? And instead of putting J. Chmel, whose main works are concerned with the two Hapsburg Emperors, Frederic III and Maximilian I, among the historians of Croatia because in the enormous list of his publications there is to be found a collection of documents relative to the history of that nation, why not mention as a group the historians of the Augustinians at St. Florian, to which group Chmel belonged, historians who were characteristic and important to the history of Austria? As for Catholic historians, the reviewer does not think that Görres, who was by no means only "the publicist" (p. 536) of "a romantic neo-Catholicism," can be omitted. As for Austrian historians, the omission of the foremost, though not too sympathetic, historical scholar of the Metternich epoch, Hermayr, cannot be easily justified.

Concerning the lacunae in bibliography, the reviewer readily admits he has little right to be indignant at them; furthermore, he acknowledges that much has been done by the author in some respects. However, is it necessary to refer to a basic, though certainly not superior, textbook like E. Fueter's *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie* in the French translation (1914) of the original German edition of 1911 without even mentioning the later revised editions such as the third edition which was published in 1936? The really important though onesided, study of K. Breysig, *Meister der entwickelnden Geschichtsforschung*, is not mentioned. The most revealing writing in all the literature devoted to the historian of Basle, Burckhardt, the work of K. Leewith (1937), is not listed. Incidentally, little of the literature mentioned goes beyond 1930; thus, when dealing with Swiss historiography, R. Feller, *Schweizerische Geschichtzschreibung im 19. Jahrhundert*, published in 1938, is not cited. The last work of I. Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Seckten-geschichte des Mittelalters* (1890), is omitted from the list of his writings, though it has proved of more lasting value to historical study than many of those mentioned.

Due praise is given by Professor Thompson to F. Meinecke's *Entstehung des Historismus* (Muenchen, 1936), but one wonders at such appreciation when one finds that in the discussion of Herder anything which Meinecke

pointed out in this book is carefully omitted. Again the discussion is based on the *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784-91), although the Berlin historian has demonstrated that the earlier *Auch eine Philosophie zur Geschichte der Menschheit* (1774), although only fragmentary, is both more characteristic and more important. This is only one example of a way of dealing with literature referred to; more examples can be observed in going through the work. Why is G. Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie* (1699 ff.), emphasized by Meinecke as being important for historiography, not mentioned?

There are more than a few erroneous statements which, however, can be easily revised in a later edition. A few examples of these may be given. The reviewer fails to find any proof for the assumption that the Czech historian, Palacky, entered the Pillersdorf ministry in 1848. It is said that in 1864 the Syllabus of Errors "condemned some of Döllinger's own writings" (p. 538)—but the Syllabus does not mention any writings specifically. "Marx must have taken (for his theory of history) much from Roscher and particularly Nitzsch" (p. 628); as for Nitzsch, Thompson himself states that his first published work "appeared about the same time as the Communist Manifesto" (p. 420), which, as is well known, already contains the materialistic interpretation of history. There are several factual errors in the pages on Jacob Burckhardt (p. 452 ff.). In fact, he did not hold his position at the University of Basel without interruption; it is certainly not true that he treated the economic—and hardly correct that he treated the social—aspects of the Renaissance; it is at least equivocal to summarize the complicated relations of the Basle historian with Nietzsche by calling Burckhardt "a life-long friend" of the philosopher. If the author goes on quoting sentences of Burckhardt in order to prove that the author of *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*" was not a philosopher or even a thinker" (p. 453), he thereby only proves that he failed to grasp the irony involved in the quoted passages.

This last remark leads one to the question of whether the interpretations given by Thompson can always be accepted. This could hardly be the case if he describes Frederic of Hohenstaufen as "a truly enlightened . . . man." As for the assumption that Voltaire was "the leader and spokesman" for the belief in progress in history, this idea cannot well be brought to harmonize with the "insularic" idea of the philosopher which found its famous expression in the Introduction to the *Siècle de Louis XIV*. Kant is quoted (p. 112 ff.) as "advocating a Pan European League of republics" and having stated in the treatise on perpetual peace "that all European states must become republics;" but the author fails to mention that Kant in this treatise defined republicanism as being simply "the principle of the separation of the executive from the legislative power" (Edition of the Prussian Academy, VIII, 352). Why is the Heidelberg historian, F. C. Schlosser, called a Romanticist (p. 142)?

A kind of refutation is given by the author himself shortly after he has expressed this view. Why is J. Moeser, the author of the *Osnabrueckische Geschichte*, called "a bureaucratic liberal" (p. 145)? Quite another impression of him is given in Meinecke's *Historismus*, which Thompson so emphatically praises. It is not correct to say that the Prussian historians claimed that history was subordinated to politics (p. 150); it was their particular view that *foreign* policy was supreme over all other spheres of human activity in historical importance.

It can perhaps be said in a general way that the author fails to see the complexity of the really important historical writers of that period. The mind of Montesquieu, for example, was much more complicated than the author indicates; his affinity with feudalism, with "our fathers the Germans," his interest in the spirit of the nations of almost any period and country, are not mentioned. If Ranke had been as Thompson chose to delineate him, it would not be easy to understand the influence he exercised. He too, of course, is labeled as "deeply romantic," although it would be more interesting to dwell on the differences between the historian and the romantic school. A much clearer affinity exists between Ranke and Hegel, in spite of outspoken distinctions which are also clear in this relation. The author says: "according to all reports, Ranke was not an inspiring lecturer" (p. 176), but he fails to quote a witness like W. Dilthey who tells us how impressive the lectures of old Ranke were to one who could understand them. Professor Thompson says: "Ranke "was in the habit of playing with high sounding and, in *the last analysis*, meaningless terms and phrases, which he rarely defined or elucidated.... Had Ranke done nothing else but use vague generalities, he would soon have been forgotten" (p. 182). But Thompson does not attempt to give this "last analysis" of Ranke's general ideas; he does not even mention the two essays in which he expressed them best, Die Grossen Mächte (1833) and Das Politische Gespräch (1836), nor the lectures which have been published posthumously as *Epochen der Neueren Geschichte*. The authors here once more demonstrates his failure to present the intellectual background of even the most eminent historians. Do we not feel somewhat surprised when, after all this has been said, the author concludes that "the chief criticism against Ranke" is his "total unphilosophicalness" (p. 185)?

Burckhardt appears also to Thompson as a man of one book, of course, it being the one on the Italian Renaissance. His other writings are mentioned in a footnote, but nothing is said either on their consistency with or their difference from that almost too well-known work. It is suprising to find listed as a positivist the Swiss historian who wrote in the last sentences of *Fortune and Misfortune in History* that precisely in our time, "it would be a marvelous spectacle . . . to follow with enlightened perception the spirit of man as it builds its new dwelling, soaring

above, yet closely bound up with all these (manifold) manifestations." It is lacking exactness to say that Burckhardt, "has been justly criticized for his failure to explain origins." As a matter of fact, he did not want, he did not intend to do so; he wanted and intended to describe, not investigate causes. Nor is it correct to say that to the Basle historian "culture was the value, the positive sense of history." Rather, culture was to Burckhardt one of the three powers which pervade all human history: the state, religion, and culture.

The author is almost too cautious in giving his own philosophy of history. However, he states: "History and Science in general have this interest in common: each is interested in the relation of the particular to the general, and in the long run it is the general which has value.... History is not interested in any single event or in any individual man, but in the relations of men and of events" (p. 459). In spite of this statement, there may still be those who feel that what interests the historian most is this individuality, be it that of a single man or of a group or of a period. And these men may feel that the charm of history is that *individuum est ineffabile*.

The reviewers subscribe fully to the verdict given by Professor Swain in the review mentioned above: "Future writers will be very ill-advised if they repeat a single statement from it [*A History of Historical Writing*] without careful verification."

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE
FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

The Catholic University of America

The Interpretation of History. Edited by JOSEPH B. STRAYER. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. 186. $2.50.)

The number of recent books and articles on the interpretation of history witnesses to the perennial interest of the subject. The originality of the essays in the present volume lies chiefly in the fact that they set forth the views of practicing historians. As Professor Strayer remarks, historians have normally been reluctant to discuss the validity and significance of their work. Writers who are not historians have, on the other hand, shown less hesitation in telling the world just what history is and what it should do. But they have arrived at bewilderingly contradictory conclusions and all too often have seemed to lose contact with the facts of history. Hence it is refreshing to note the feeling for reality which pervades the greater number of these essays. We have here, as it were, the solid common sense and sound judgment of the workman as opposed to the more abstract, and sometimes nebulous, ideas of the theorist. But there is a corresponding disadvantage: we are not offered an interpretation of history as such, but only observations about interpretation and warnings as to its pitfalls. It

would still appear to be the role of the philosopher to give us a definitive interpretation of history, but it would be extremely desirable that he serve an apprenticeship as a practicing historian and acquire something of the historical sense which marks this volume.

The editor does not tell us what occasioned the writing of these essays or what considerations dictated the choice of topics or of contributors to the work. And so, it is as surprising as it is regretable that so excellent a collection, full of penetrating observations and stimulating ideas, should be marred by the inclusion of Professor La Piana's chapter on "The Theology of History." The blasphemous character of certain statements and the censorious tone of his condemnation of the Christian Church for its "failure" are quite out of keeping with the spirit of the other articles. It likewise stands in unfavorable contrast with them by the looseness of its method and the presentation of ideas generally outmoded among serious historians today. There are sweeping generalizations, gratuitous assertions, and a somewhat fluid terminology that are always elusive when they are not positively misleading. But perhaps the most serious defect is the shifting of ground that affects the whole essay. According to the title, Professor La Piana is dealing with the theology of history; yet he goes on to speak of the "theological method of history" as if it were all the same thing, or at least as if the holding of a theology of history obliged one necessarily to follow a theological method in history. In reality, however, they are very different things; the former belongs to the science of theology, the latter to that of history, each of which has an object and a method peculiarly its own. A theological method in history is rightly to be condemned, and some Catholic writers might well be more precise in distinguishing between what is history and what is theology of history. But the converse, too, is true. When, therefore, Professor La Piana sets out to analyze the premises of a theology of history, it ought surely to be according to the methods of theology, not empirically and historically as he actually does. Again it is rather begging the question to classify such "pillars of the theology of history" as revelation and the redemption of fallen man under the designation of "myths." And it is assuming the very point at issue when the author repeatedly asserts that Christianity merely inherited and elaborated the older myths of its predecessors. His concluding strictures against the Church or churches—no distinction seems to be made between Church, Churches, and churches—amount to an undisguised attack. The partisan tone which pervades them is fairly well illustrated by his gratuitous allusion to "churches and groups which may have a religious name and a religious program, but are in fact political, social and economic groups."

Students of history and scholars will derive both pleasure and profit from the other essays contained in this volume. Indeed it is with regret that the reviewer has felt constrained to insist at such length on the shortcom-

ings of one contribution and to reserve but a word for the excellent qualities of the others. Professor Strayer's essay serves admirably its immediate purpose as an introduction but has at the same time great merit in its own right; it is full of judicious remarks on the qualities requisite in the historian at work. He and Professor Barzun join hands in finding such ideals as accuracy and accumulation desirable enough in history but quite insufficient: "unless it is written with wisdom and understanding, honesty and sympathy, imagination and insight, it will be of no avail." The latter of these two writers makes a strong plea for the correction and development of the layman's historical sense by an improvement of the channels through which popular history comes. The right of history to be classed as a science is upheld by Professor Holborn even though he rejects the exaggerated claims made for it in this regard. His concluding observation is illuminating wherein he notes that philosophy and history come together in their common interest in man; it is the function of history "to describe him in his concrete variety and unity in time." Professor Heaton demonstrates the inadequacy of explanations of history based entirely on economic factors; the contribution made by economic historians is truly significant, but their work must be integrated with that of other kinds of historians. Indeed man's social activities alone, even when all of them are taken into account, will not explain the whole of history; the individual element has likewise to be considered. That is why Dr. Malone insists on the value of biography and stresses the "danger of drowning individual achievements in a foggy sea of social forces." The student of methodology will thank him further for the axiomatic "do's" and "don't's" in biographical writing with which his essay fairly bristles.

To sum up, the merits of these five essays amply redeem the volume as a whole and make it one definitely to be recommended.

GEORGE B. FLAHIFF

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The Menace of the Herd. By FRANCIS STUART CAMPBELL. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1943. Pp. xiv, 398. $4.00.)

It would be easy to criticize Francis Stuart Campbell's book for its neglect of conscientious historical research. The author commits many elementary factual errors. The following are examples. We are told that Kant, professor at the University of Koenigsberg, "had to be content with a teaching position in a girl's high school" (p. 66). On page 139 it is wrongly stated that "priests" in the Third French Republic "were always denied the right to vote." Likewise Mr. Campbell overlooks the fact that Prussia's signature to the Belgium neutrality treaty was regarded as binding by Germany (p. 143); Germany judged herself as a violator of this

treaty according to the declaration of Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg. Further, Mr. Campbell likes to make sweeping accusations and to give very bold ideological interpretations of intellectual trends. If one compares his denunciations of Lutheranism and Calvinism with the prudent treatment of Christopher Dawson in *The Judgment of the Nations,* (New York, 1942), one understands the difference between a publicist trying to impress his readers by sensational formulations and a real historian.

It is a pity that Mr. Campbell does not give to his book an appropriate form. A long Appendix with many citations, charts, and enumerations of more or less unknown names hides its true character. It is a long sequence of sometimes superficial, sometimes witty or even penetrating observations by a man who dislikes modern urban civilization intensely. The author identifies democracy with mob rule and ochlocracy. He dislikes cities, the people of the plains, sailors, the middle class, the bourgeois (and sometimes also republics, which are favorably compared to the identitarian democracy with its herdism). He likes villages, men of mountains, peasants, and aristocrats. He is for hereditary monarchies (but not of an absolutistic, centralistic type) as the best safeguards of real liberty. He is against modern nationalism and connects Nazism as well as Communism with democracy as he sees it. For this purpose he uses arguments from Plato, who pointed out the relation between mob rule and tyranny. He regards the destruction of the Hapsburg Monarchy after World War I as the great political crime of the twentieth century which gave the green light to Hitler. He is for a New First German Reich which would give Catholic Germans a preponderant position, realizing an Anschluss in reverse. Much of Mr. Campbell's writing is rather confusing—often a result of his technique of associating various phenomena according as he likes or dislikes them. But unquestionably some of his remarks may have a stimulating effect on those who are inclined to simplify European history and developments.

The volume belongs to the literature denouncing the modern secularized world; it is marred by an ambiguous attitude. He does not distinguish between an aesthetic disgust with the masses and a religious approach in which tangible results, technical progress, and utilitarian considerations cannot be ends in themselves. Mr. Campbell remains a child of an epoch which in his eyes is the result of decay. He does not suffer in the hell of the twentieth century because he enjoys himself simply in paradoxical descriptions of its strange aspects, without realizing that his manner of shocking the bourgeois might only excuse superficial and purely negative attitudes. His book, therefore, must not be regarded primarily as an expression of positive views and ideas; it is rather a symptom of the complicated and chaotic character of our time. Mr. Campbell is neither a conservative nor a reactionary (Cf., his "Credo of a Reactionary" in the *American Mercury,* 1943). Nor is he a prophet; he is a writer not too reliable in his

statements, overbold in his judgments, but able to proclaim loudly that loss of self-confidence which we observe in many so-called progressive groups today. This book has some value as an impressionistic and psychological testimony but, unfortunately, it is presented as a scholarly historical and sociological study.

WALDEMAR GURIAN

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

A Cistercian Nunnery in Mediaeval Italy. The Story of Ridfreddo in Saluzzo, 1220-1300. By CATHERINE E. BOYD. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Volume XVIII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. 189. $2.00.)

To economic and ecclesiastical history Dr. Boyd has contributed an interesting study of the nunnery of St. Mary of Rifreddo, a small establishment in western Piedmont, founded in 1220 and suppressed in the eighteenth century. The study is limited in time to the period from 1220 to 1300 and in scope to a survey of the existing economic conditions together with the problems which confronted the nuns. Rifreddo was founded in 1220 by Agnes of Saluzzo, the daughter of the deceased Manfred II of Saluzzo and of Alice of Montferrat. At the foundation date Alice was acting as regent for her grandson Manfred III. (On page 15 Alice is erroneously referred to as the mother of Manfred III; on page 37 his parents are given correctly as Boniface of Saluzzo and Maria of Torres.) Upon the death of her husband, Comita II of Torres in Sardinia, Agnes returned to Saluzzo. Pope Honorius III permitted Agnes to build a nunnery there, which became a free and exempt monastery under the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See.

The first period of Rifreddo's history was one of foundation and consolidation. While most of its property came as original endowment, the holdings were increased from time to time by gifts. The cartulary records comparatively few donations from the lay population of the region, except from members of the house of Saluzzo. The author discounts as adequate explanation for the scarcity of donations the poverty of the region or the decay of religious piety in this period. The nearby Cistercian monastery of Staffarda was the recipient of a constant flow of gifts to the end of the thirteenth century. Professor Boyd attributes Rifreddo's lack of gifts to the fact that it was essentially an aristocratic convent and not a particularly popular institution. May we suggest also that convents were less popular as objects of charity than monasteries, even as today institutions for women fare poorly in the matter of bequests in comparison with their masculine counterparts?

In 1236 began a period marked by incessant litigation, a situation which continued to 1300, the terminal point of the study. The cartulary of the nunnery is in large part the history of the conflicts which arose between the nunnery and the other ecclesiastical institutions in the section over feudal estates and over tithes, which had also been feudalized. Because of these difficulties Innocent IV conferred supervision of the nunnery upon the abbot of Staffarda, a measure which was followed by formal incorporation with the Cistercian order. In the decades after the subjection of Rifreddo to Staffarda the abbots of the latter house conscientiously brought order into the affairs of the nunnery and raised it to a degree of prosperity and efficiency probably greater than it had ever known previously.

Professor Boyd has staked her claim upon a field of Italian history which has been comparatively unexplored. It is to be hoped that when the unpublished material becomes again accessible she will continue the story of Rifreddo.

ANNA T. SHEEDY

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MODERN HISTORY

A History of Poland. By OSCAR HALECKI. Translated by Monica M. Gardner and Mary Corbridge-Patkaniowska. (New York: Roy Publishers. 1943. Pp. xiii, 336. $3.50.)

An authority on late mediaeval Poland, professor of Eastern European history for over two decades, and the first secretary of the League of Nations Commission for Intellectual Cooperation, Professor Halecki is eminently qualified to present the history of his country to foreign readers. He brings to his task not only a fine historical scholarship and mature judgment but also a cosmopolitan outlook, which enable him to view the evolution of Poland within the broad framework of European development as well as in its narrower national limits.

This third, enlarged edition of a work originally written in French ten years ago, is an interpretative synthesis rather than a mere outline of Polish history. Though eschewing the technicalities of footnoting and bibliography, it offers a highly competent and readable summary of the careful labors of the best contemporary Polish historians. It portrays Poland as a member of the European community of nations by centering the reader's attention upon the essential problems arising out of that relationship —diplomatic, constitutional, social, and cultural issues, which have deeply affected Polish development through ten centuries of recorded existence.

These problems, in one way or another, spring out of, or are to a certain extent conditioned by, Poland's geographical location, "which was to influence but not determine all its historical evolution". Occupying a central

position in the region between Teutonic and Asiatic peoples, Poland from its earliest years has been a land where West meets East—where western and Eastern Slavs have made their abode, where the cultures and religions of Rome and Byzantium have clashed, where German colonists and Jewish refugees have found a home—making for differences in nationality and religion within the state. More importantly, lacking the protection of natural frontiers, Poland has periodically attracted the covetous attention of its neighbors—the Teutons and Tartars, the Swedes and Austrians, the Russians and Prussians, the Nazis and Soviets—becoming, especially to her western and eastern neighbors, a standing invitation to invasion and conquest.

Polish rulers have not been insensible of their country's vulnerability. From the Piastian founder of historical Poland to Pilsudski, they have sought to strengthen their position and offset the double danger menacing them by various means: by adopting Christianity, enfeoffing Poland to the Pope, creating a mighty Jagiellonian Federation in central Europe, siding with one neighbor against the other, playing off both neighbors against each other.

That none of these solutions—except perhaps the shortlived Jagiellonian Federation—fully succeeded in arresting the double pressure has been due partly to the moral disregard by Poland's neighbors of their solemn pledges, partly to the abuse by Polish citizens of their constitutional liberties, and partly to disastrous political mistakes committed by Polish statesmen. The three factors help explain the partitions, while the first and the last suggest some of the causes of the present division of Poland.

For this thoughtful, scholarly portrayal of Poland, students of European history unacquainted with Polish writings will be deeply grateful to Professor Halecki.

JOSEPH V. SWASTEK

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Patterns and Principles of Spanish Art. By OSCAR HAGEN. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1943. Pp. xix, 279. $4.00.)

Professor Hagen has completely rewritten and expanded the study of Spanish art which he published in 1936, adding a number of valuable illustrations, a more carefully subdivided text, and the development of some new ideas. The result is a book of twofold interest. There is a concise and carefully written history of Spanish painting from Catalan Romanesque frescoes to Francisco Goya. This illustrates the long introductory essay which seeks to interpret the underlying spirit of Spanish art and ultimately the Spanish race itself and thus is related to the writings of Havelock Ellis,

Waldo Frank, Georgiana G. King, and Aubrey Bell on the subject of *Hispanidad*.

The basis of this essay is Professor Hagen's conviction that Spanish art is essentially a planar art, based on a veritable cult of the flat surface. This he illustrates with such telling examples as the Catalan frescoes, more uncompromisingly flat than their Byzantine prototypes, the severe surfaces of Philip II's ultra-Counter-Reformation architecture, and the reduction of bulky objects to planar images in the impressionism of Velázquez. Another strong argument advanced is the lack of interest in perspective arrangements that marked Spanish painting of the Renaissance and the whole Iberian pictorial and plastic Baroque style in relation to that of Italy in the same periods. To substantiate further this theory, which is the most interestingly developed idea in his book and one with which a number of more traditional critics are bound to take issue, the author introduces other, long-accepted characteristics of the Hispanic tradition. There is the all-over pattern of ornament, derived from the Moorish decorators, to which is closely related the indivisible quality of Spanish retables, both painted and sculptured, no section of which can be subtracted without essential detriment to the whole. This interpretation of the Spanish retable is convincing in relation to the divergent disposition of other European altarpieces but troubling when viewed in the light of Aubrey Bell's theory of "verticalism", that is, the independence of episode within a whole work in Spanish literature and art. Closely related to the planar pattern of Spanish art are its rigid, angular forms, themselves explained by Iberian traditionalism, long loathe to give up mediaeval forms, the emphasis on dignity and restraint, derived from the local admiration of *caballerosidad*, and the irrational mystic strain in Spanish culture.

The wonder is that these very qualities, generally considered reactionary and debilitating, did not suffocate Spanish art. But there were other opposing elements to counterbalance them. One was the deep-seated Hispanic love of naturalism, which Professor Hagen calls "somatic realism". Another was the national fondness for schemes so grand and ambitious that they could never be completely carried out. Instead of depressing the spirit of those who failed to execute them, they rather inspired the imagination to new productive dreaming. This is a quality, in the related art of Portugal best expressed by the overwhelming poetry of Capelas Imperfeitas of Batalha and the cult of the *Mar tenebroso*, which is as stimulating to the Iberian as it is defeating and incomprehensible to the Anglo-Saxon. As a result of all these factors, Spanish art from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century produced a spirit of such challenging vigor that, as the author aptly shows, it completely absorbed the majority of foreign artists who came in contact with it. Only Italians remained untouched by

the Spanish spirit in art; but they alone in Europe possessed a tradition strong enough to resist it.

In analyzing the principles of Spanish art, Professor Hagen reveals remarkable sympathy and understanding. But when in his chapter on "la tristeza española" he considers the role of death in that art he makes the unconvincing statement: "Death triumphs even over the Church" and cites the inscription on a bishop's tomb: "Hic jacet pulvis, cinis et nihil." Is this the triumph of death over a material existence or is it the ignoring of death by a life in which the spirit was always the victor over matter? Every detail of the Spanish character throughout history points to the latter interpretation. As Aubrey Bell has put it: "The Spanish have been described as 'une race amoureuse de la mort' but one would rather say 'amoureuse de la vie'. It was well said by Miguel de Unamuno ... that 'our so-called cult of death is a cult of immortality, a cult of life'" (*Castilian Literature*, Oxford, 1938, pp. 159-160.)

Since Professor Hagen states at the outset that sculpture is the true expression of the Spanish soul in art, it is surprising that he mentions it only in passing and restricts the whole historical exposition of his work to Spanish painting. The title of his book is thus in part a misnomer. The method of presentation is an effective compromise between the vast, meticulous survey of Chandler Post (*A History of Spanish Painting*, Harvard University Press, 1930) and the fragmentary, highly personal appraisals provided in the recent study by José Gudiol (*Spanish Painting*, Toledo Museum of Art, 1941). The text has a sound basis of scholarship, relying, as it should, on Professor Post's decisions of authorship and style; it is illuminated by the aesthetic explorations of the first half of the volume and is enriched by the author's comparisons with contemporary European music and letters. It is all the more regrettable, therefore, that it was not possible to include a survey, period by period, of Spanish architecture, sculpture, and the minor arts, thus providing a full picture of the production as well as the spirit of Spanish art. One regrets also that in rewriting his book Professor Hagen did not see his way to broaden his study, even in the most general terms, to include Spanish American colonial art. The impact of Spanish patterns and principles upon the pre-Columbian traditions, if analyzed, would firmly support his present conclusions. A final regret is reserved for the small size of the illustrations, which are not readable without the use of a glass, thus considerably reducing their effectiveness as evidence in the arguments set forth.

ROBERT C. SMITH

Hispanic Foundation
Library of Congress

Treaties and Constitutional Law, Property Interferences and Due Process of Law. By WILLARD BUNCE COWLES. (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1943. Pp. xv, 315. $4.50.)

World Organization. A Balance Sheet of the First Great Experiment. (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1943. Pp. xiv, 426. Cloth, $3.75; Paper, $3.00.)

National Consciousness. By WALTER SULZBACH. (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1943. Pp. x, 168. Cloth, $3.00; Paper, $2.50.)

These three publications of the American Council on Public Affairs have only one thing in common—that in one way or another they treat of international relationships. The first one is really a study of constitutional law, whose international interest is incidental. It is a careful summary of the important litigation in American courts, particularly in the United States Supreme Court where our treaties with foreign nations or with Indian tribes, or some interstate compacts have come into conflict with the property clauses of the Fifth Amendment. Mr. Cowles places these cases in their political setting, discusses possible legal alternatives, indicates when and how redress, explicit or implied, was given by Congress or in the Court of Claims for violations of constitutional property rights, and summarizes the development of this branch of law to its present state.

The third book, on national consciousness, purports to be a scientific study of the psychological factors which produce wars. Mr. Sulzbach examines the relative importance of love of homeland, the fighting impulse, economic interests, and national honor as productive of conflict, and concludes that nationalism is the greatest modern religion, which, after temporary growth, will inevitably wane, to be superseded by world consciousness. His illustrations range over five hundred years of history and are supported by short quotations from modern philosophers and from generally known modern studies on nationalism. It is not readily apparent on what ground he considers his book to be scientific, unless it be the concept which frequently reappears in its pages, that religion, from being nonrational, coercive, and political, has retreated before the growth of rationalism, the individual conscience, and that the religion of nationalism will follow the same pattern. A number of other judgments voiced in the book will appear equally personal. For example, the national consciousness of "the citizens of democracies" is fading under the conviction that war is senseless and ought to be abolished. But prior to the rise of democracy (a modern development) "only the ruling classes showed any interest in public affairs. The masses were indifferent and silent."

Students of international organization and of post-war plans will profit considerably from reading the articles presented at the 1941 symposium on

world organization. In addition to evaluating the accomplishments of the League of Nations, some of the contributors have examined the organizations antecedent to it; and some of them have made extraordinarily clear analyses of the processes and relationships involved in international organization. Outstanding in this respect are the articles on health by Dr. Frank Boudreau, on the traffic in narcotic drugs by Bertil A. Renborg, and on the Saar problem by Sarah Wanebaugh. A considerable difference of opinion exists among the contributors on the relative merits of different organs or procedures of the League, such as the advantages or disadvantages of autonomy, the political or non-political character of the Secretariat, and the relative importance of achievements in the field of social welfare to those in the field of power politics. Except in the treatment of colonies and of the World Court, there is little reference to the relation of international institutions to moral principles. And an approving comment of Arthur Sweetser on a recent papal statement on world organizations reveals a singular lack of understanding of other papal statements on that and related issues. In general it may be said that the development of international society depends more on the co-operation of other governments than the predominantly Anglo-Saxon emphasis of this book would indicate. All of the writers look toward the reorganization of the League, although possibly under a new name; and some of them make suggestions for regional developments. Only the article by Pitman B. Potter gives any idea of the problems which face the organizers of world society in securing the co-operation of Soviet Russia. In spite of this, the book assembles good factual analyses and criticism of the League, and ought to be read by all those whose minds are occupied with the form of the post-war world.

ELIZABETH M. LYNSKEY

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AMERICAN HISTORY

A History of the Canadian People. By MORDEN H. LONG, M.A., (Oxon.), Professor of History, University of Alberta. Illustrations and Maps by C. W. JEFFERYS, R.C.A., LL.D. Volume I. *New France*. (Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1942. Pp. xiv, 376. $3.50.)

Histories of Canada published during the present century have for the most part fallen into two categories: the large, co-operative work in many volumes, such as *Canada and Its Provinces* or *The Chronicles of Canada*, and the short, one-volume work, usually intended primarily for school or college use, in which there is space only for a carefully pruned narrative with an occasional even more strictly pruned explanatory or interpretative paragraph. No scorn should be directed at the one-volume history; it has steadily improved in quality and in its better representatives it has im-

parted a genuine grasp, even something of an inspirational understanding, of the story that runs from "Abitation" of Quebec and H. B. Co. fur-pack to Commonwealth air-training and Atlantic convoy. But the small summary narrative can impart to the public only a minimum of what has been the important achievement of Canadian historical scholarship in the last half century, the vast output of source studies and scientific monographs that have flooded with new light every aspect of our history.

The present work comes in between the two categories mentioned above. To the French period of Canadian history has alone been allotted an ample-size volume of nearly four hundred pages. The results are obvious on the surface. The author has elbowroom. He can really talk about the things that he thinks significant. Professor Long has thoroughly mastered the monograph literature, and, without any parade of learning, gives us in his own continuous illuminating commentary the results of the most up-to-date scholarship. It is the best history of Canada under French dominion in one volume and in the English language that has yet been published.

The treatment is topical more than narrative, but there is a small thread of narrative running through the whole, and everything is integrated together so well that we feel no serious break into watertight compartments. Nevertheless the stinting of the narrative seems sometimes overdone. When we are told that the conquest of Quebec in 1759 was "one of the most perfect examples in history of the coordination of sea and land power" we are not told something new, but probably most readers would like to have the author's development of the idea. We are given about eleven lines for the whole campaign. The expulsion of the Acadians, and their return, will, perhaps, be given fuller treatment in a later volume. Other subjects of which a little fuller account might have been desirable include the maritime fortress-port of Louisbourg, the vicissitudes of the Le Moyne family, the government hydrographic school at Quebec, the local ecclesiastical arts, wood carving, embroidery, etc. One background, that of European history, is treated very slightly, but two others, the geography and the aboriginal inhabitants, are set forth with clearness and detail that are most helpful.

Other topics are exploration and the fur trade, settlement, seigneurial system, the Church, economic life, government and political life, all presented in a similar helpful way for the English reader who has some knowledge of the general story. It should be said at once, however, that any person who is entirely unacquainted with Canada's past should read one of the summary narratives before turning to Professor Long.

The treatment of the Catholic Church is generally sympathetic. Occasionally a turn of phrase is not as a Catholic would shape it, or there is a slight lack of full understanding, but there is nothing deliberately biased.

Some commentary here and there might have helped the Bibliography. Very few misprints have been noticed. On page 131, line 6, and in the Index under "Dauversière", read "Le Royer" for "de Royer", and on page 185, footnote, read "275" for "279".

Iconography in Canadian history is still an infant science, but Dr. Jefferys, who has been charged with the Illustrations, is probably the man best qualified for the subject.

JAMES F. KENNEY

Public Archives of Canada

Caesars of the Wilderness: Médard Chouart, Sieur Des Groseilliers and Pierre Esprit Radisson, 1618-1710. By GRACE LEE NUTE. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1943. Pp. xvi, 386. $4.00.)

The author derives her novel title, *Caesars of the Wilderness,* from Radisson's own testimony that, "We were Cesars, being nobody to contradict us," on the occasion of an excursion into the Wisconsin woods in 1659 from a fort built by the traders at the end of Chequamegon Bay. Miss Nute incorporates in her narrative a wealth of research done in Canadian, French, and English archives which was made possible, in part at least, by a Guggenheim fellowship. Médard Chouart is followed from his birthplace in Les Groseilliers, by which name he is better known, through the many vicissitudes of his eventful career. Mère Marie de l'Incarnation says he was young when he came to Canada and visited her often because of mutual Tours associations. Miss Nute's graphic description of all the environments through which her heroes passed is one of the attractive features of her study.

Des Groseilliers had had experience in Huronia and Acadia, was married, and had made Three Rivers his headquarters when he became associated with his counterpart of the wilderness, Pierre Esprit Radisson, who accompanied him on many excursions to the Lake Superior region and Hudson's Bay country. A chapter heading "Papists as Puritans" for the description of the nearly three years spent by the traders in New England, seems ill-chosen and pointless. Here they gave of their frontier experience to the English, as they also did in a sojourn in London from where several profitable expeditions to the Hudson's Bay region were undertaken. While this was a loss to the French, it would hardly have been within the power of the Jesuits to change matters substantially enough to warrant the statement: "The Jesuits, on the other hand, had no intention of losing an American empire" (p. 147). The enterprising intendant, Jean Talon, seemed to realize the error in allowing the English to gain a foothold on the north, but the otherwise dynamic governor, Comte de Frontenac, did not seem to comprehend the importance of the field the French were losing. Not until 1682-1683 did Radisson and Des Groseilliers meet the English as

Frenchmen and rivals on Hudson's Bay to contend for the territory. Neither this incident or subsequent efforts on the part of the distinguished French traders convinced the French authorities of the seriousness of the situation, and the eventual loss of the territory was due to no lack of vision or activity on the part of Radisson and Des Groseilliers.

To the volume are appended various sources considered of value, followed by an explanatory Bibliography that manifests a wide coverage of archival materials. The work is to be recommended for its thoroughness, lucidity, and scholarship which definitely gives it a place in the collection of the French colonial bibliophile.

SISTER M. DORIS MULVEY

Rosary College

Zones of International Friction: The Great Lakes Frontier, Canada, the West Indies, India, 1748-1754. Volume V. *The British Empire Before the American Revolution.* By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON, Lehigh University. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. Pp. xlviii, 352, lix. $5.00.)

Professor Gipson has now published five of the projected twelve volumes of his prodigious and ambitious plan. This series does not duplicate anything heretofore attempted. It is not another colonial history, for in approach, content, and treatment it is quite different from such works as Osgood or Andrews. Nor does it parallel the several studies devoted to the constitutional or institutional history of the British Empire for any period.

The present volume continues the account, begun in Volume Four, of the Anglo-French rivalry for the period 1748-1754. That volume traced the problems as they existed in the region south of the Great Lakes; now are presented the phases of this impact in Canada, around the Great Lakes, in the relations with the six confederated nations of Indians, in the West Indies, and in India. Some account of the background of the European diplomacy of the period is reserved for a later volume.

In a treatment of the forces at work in the area included there is naturally much to interest the Catholic student. If Professor Gipson has failed in some degree to integrate the important role of the Church in French administration of most of this region, particularly in Canada, he has taken sympathetic notice of the work of the missionaries and of Catholic institutions. We are told that in feudal New France the Church held 2,115,178 acres of land (p. 11); on many pages the Catholic life of the people is feelingly portrayed; the Jesuit college at Quebec was a "real centre of learning and piety" (p. 12); the labors of such priests as Biard, Massé, Dolbeau, Caron, Allouez, Ménard, Gravier, Marquette, and others (pp. 41-42, 51, 52, 66, etc.), and especially of Abbé Picquet and the mission of La

Présentation (pp. 102 ff.), are recounted; the Jesuits are quoted on the deplorable conditions surrounding the Indian trade (pp. 51, 52), and their activities within the country of the Six Nations are favorably reviewed in contrast with those of the English who did little to meet "the demand of the Iroquois to be instructed in Christianity" (pp. 76-77, 80-81, 97); and Father Labat's comments on the Caribs are extensively cited (pp. 211-216 *passim*). In the chapter on the Land of the Acadians there are many references to the parishes and the influence of the French clergy (pp. 169-171, 176, 177, 178, 199, etc.). The author, however, in his story of the Acadians leans more heavily on English authorities than on French writings in their defense. Exception may also be taken to the statement that religious vocations came to Canadian women only after the "secret hope [of a husband] and the bloom of youth had passed away" (p. 14).

Professor Gipson makes his real contribution in the two chapters which he devotes to the Albany Congress. His fresh and keen analysis of the proceedings of that body brings to light many considerations which have been overlooked and corrects or modifies other beliefs respecting it, such as the usual statement that the plan of union was rejected both by England and the colonies solely because of mutual fear of enlarged powers. A good point is made in indicating that both sides recognized the authority of Parliament in establishing any plan of colonial co-operation.

Primary and secondary sources in great abundance have been drawn upon and digested by the author in this fine study. A splendid chapter of summarization ties the whole thing together. There are twenty-one maps and plans and an unusually good Index of fifty-nine pages.

LEO FRANCIS STOCK

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Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina. By RICHARD BARRY. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce Inc. 1942. Pp. ix, 430. $3.75.)

Volume upon volume has been written on almost all the great and even near-great figures of the Revolution, but John Rutledge, one of the ablest and most deserving of all, has been left in obscurity. Mr. Barry must be thanked for having written a readable biography of the man.

John Rutledge was the first governor of the State of South Carolina. In addition he was a member of the Stamp Act Congress, the first and second Continental Congresses, and the Constitutional Convention. He was chairman of the drafting committee of the Constitution and that document is in great part his work. Moreover, he was an associate justice and temporary chief justice of the United States Supreme Court. Mr. Barry has shown conclusively that Rutledge deserved every one of these honors. Whoever reads this book will be deeply impressed with the stature of Rutledge.

However, the work has its faults—many of them. Foremost is that the author has become so enthusiastic over his hero as almost to make him a superman. Rutledge was not quite as great as the author would make him. He would show up better if he was enshrouded with less mysticism. The military strategy of the war in South Carolina can hardly be given as Rutledge's—least of all King's Mountain. No less a fault is the neglect of the mechanics of history. The author has eschewed all footnotes. The "notes and sources" in the Appendix do not make up for this neglect. Again and again quotations are given and debatable points advanced, but no citation to the authority is made. This is regrettable. This would be an extremely valuable contribution but for that. When an author does not give citations and authority for his statements, especially new or contestable matter, he removes his work from the category of history to that of near fiction. This is a loss to scholarship—a loss to truth.

But the truth of this book should not be lost. The history of the United States has been written in great part by the New England School. The textbooks of our secondary schools have been based on these writings. Through them the American Revolution has come to look like a subsidiary of the Boston Massacre, the Boston Tea Party, and Concord and Lexington. The unwary might even think that Yorktown was no further south than Long Island Sound. New England did its part—a very noteworthy part—but too long has this part been made to seem greater than the whole.

Mr. Barry overemphasizes Rutledge, he underestimates Marion, Sumter, and Moultrie, he ignores Thompson and Pickens, he fictionalizes the battle of King's Mountain, but he does not overemphasize, or underestimate, or fictionalize the part of South Carolina in the Revolution. The knowledge of that part ought to be known by every student of American history and especially every teacher. This biography makes it easy to acquire that knowledge.

RICHARD C. MADDEN

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Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860. By LUTHER PORTER JACKSON. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1942. Pp. xv, 270. $3.75.)

In this publication of the American Historical Association, the author, who is professor of history in Virginia State College, examines the economic status of the free Negroes in Virginia during the three decades immediately preceding the War Between the States. As Dr. Jackson says in his Introduction, there is no great difficulty in studying the labor of free Negroes in this period; printed and manuscript data exist in sufficient amount and accessibility. In studying the ownership by free Negroes, the author has

found his way less smooth. The primary sources—Federal census returns and Virginia city and county tax books—often fail to agree, and the identification of the free Negroes among the list of property owners is not always possible.

Despite these and other handicaps, Professor Jackson has produced a valuable and balanced contribution to Afro-American history. His general conclusion is that while the state laws, during the period in question, tended to impose increasingly severe restrictions upon the free Negroes, economic forces worked in favor of the free Negro both as a worker and as an owner of property. Some readers may be surprised to learn that ownership of slaves by free Negroes was not uncommon in Virginia. In many cases this ownership was purely benevolent. A free Negro would acquire ownership of his wife, or of other relatives, simply to protect them. But in other cases it was merely commercial, and the black slave owner profited by the labor of his human chattels with as little scruple as did his white contemporaries.

It is noteworthy that the comparatively large number of free Negroes living within the limits of present-day Virginia in 1860—Professor Jackson reckons them at 58,000—is a good proof that they were on the whole valuable to Virginia's agricultural and economic life. For as far back as 1806 the state legislature had passed a law requiring all Negroes freed after that date to leave the State within twelve months of their emancipation. But as the legislature, at the petition of white citizens, was continually granting to free Negroes "dispensations" from this law, it was never even tolerably well enforced. Even after the Nat Turner insurrection of 1831, in which a mob of Negroes led by a half-crazed fanatic had murdered over fifty white persons (most of them women and children), the legislature, in the face of public alarm and anger, rejected in 1832 a bill for the removal from the state of all free Negroes living therein contrary to the law of 1806. And permissions to manumitted Negroes to remain were granted about as numerously as before. All of which shows that very many of the free Negroes were looked upon by their white neighbors as harmless and useful members of their communities.

Professor Jackson also incidentally studies the matter of manumission of slaves by their Virginia owners and corrects some prevalent misconceptions in this regard, pointing out that, though the tendency to manumission was slackened in the rural districts by resentment at abolitionist propaganda in the immediate pre-Civil War period, it went on as before in urban localities.

This work is necessarily too burdened with statistics ever to be popular, but future writers on the place and period it treats will be grateful to Professor Jackson for the fruits of his patient and laborious toil.

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LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

The Latin-American Policy of the United States. By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1943. Pp. xiv, 470. $3.75.)

Something has been added in this volume to the run of American books on the relations between our country and our neighbors to the south. No one to date could be said to approach the topic with the wide diplomatic knowledge of the man who established his reputation in *Jay's Treaty*, the Knights of Columbus prize volume of 1923. This abundance of background gives a judicial serenity to the treatment throughout, and even though small gaps in historical lore appear here and there, the book as a whole deserves the reception which its author is certain to receive.

His topic holds undoubted difficulties for whatever scholar might essay its unraveling. Panama is not yet a closed question, despite the monography of Dwight Miner. Texas and its involved diplomacy—well sketched by Schmitz, whose name is surprisingly omitted in the footnotes (there is no bibliography) — can stand longer study. Nevertheless the familiarity of Professor Bemis with the Adams-Onis or Transcontinental Treaty of 1819 makes him a trustworthy pilot in this territory. In the matters of Venezuela's controversies, and of the Caribbean interventions of the United States, opportunities for further research are indicated. In the latter connection, citation of Chapman and Lockmiller might perhaps modify some of the judgments expressed.

With these reservations, the volume is highly satisfactory. Valuable annotations, often given at first hand, enlarge or clarify the textual statement. The large attention given the period 1895-1942 finds justification in the expanded interest of our people in present dealings with the other Americas. Without question a new order has arisen in this hemisphere, due in great part to the discovery by our neighbors that the Axis aims went farther than a fair adjustment of their position in world affairs. Without apparent planning a regional union has been maturing in the western world, and its underlying politics can scarcely be better seen than in the picture here presented by the distinguished Yale professor. His geographical introduction fortunately carries guidance to better treatments of its material. A few footnotes are incorrectly paginated. The wartime condensation in typography is offset by a clean and sharp printing. The end-paper maps are simple but adequate.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

New York City

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held in New York City on December 29-30 together with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association and its affiliated societies. The sessions are to be conducted on the campus of Barnard College. The annual meetings of all the historical societies have been shortened this year to two days because of the war. The American Catholic Historical Association has arranged its customary joint session with the American Historical Association. Moreover, a separate session on Trusteeism in the American Church has been carried over from last year, when we were unable to meet in Columbus. Likewise arrangements are being made for the regular business meeting with the presidential address and the reports of the officers. Whether or not a luncheon or dinner can be arranged for some time during the two-day meeting is at present uncertain. A definite decision on that matter can be made only after receipt of further information from those in charge of arrangements in New York and from the Association's Committee on Program.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association was held at Hamilton, Ontario on September 22-23. The program, as usual, contained a number of interesting papers on Canadian church history. We shall list them when they appear in print.

The American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia inaugurated a series of ten lectures on September 19 at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. The lectures as announced should be of interest to students of the history of the Church in the United States and abroad. They are scheduled to continue through January, 1944.

Those who have visited the historic cathedral at Bardstown, Kentucky, and admired its beauty—especially considering the time and circumstances of its erection—will be surprised to learn that it is not the structure intended by Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget. John Rogers, an architect from Baltimore, designed the present cathedral under the supervision of Bishop Flaget. But Maximilian Godefroy, one of the earliest Gothic architects in America, was the original architect. In the recently recovered correspondence of Bishop Flaget with Father Simon Bruté in the Archives of the University of Notre Dame, Flaget makes the statement that Godefroy not

only promised to design the cathedral but had even begun to draw the plans for a church one hundred and twenty-six feet by sixty-four. Godefroy taught at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore and had designed the Seminary chapel there in 1807, the first Gothic edifice in America. Although he designed several other prominent buildings, he was not well received and, disappointed, left the United States to return to France in 1819. Flaget wrote frequently to Bruté, who was then President of St. Mary's College, during the years 1815 and 1816 and asked Bruté's aid in getting the plans from Godefroy. He told Bruté that he would be forever disappointed if Godefroy did not fulfill his promise. Even after the foundations for the cathedral had been laid under the direction of Rogers, Flaget pleaded through Bruté that Godefroy design at least the frontispiece of the cathedral; but apparently Godefroy never completed the plans he had begun nor sent even the incomplete plans to Bardstown.

Few American school children escape the task of learning at least the opening lines of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Evangeline*. The romantic story of those verses has its historic counterpart in the expulsion of the Acadians and in several episodes in the colonies in which they landed after their dispersion. Doubtless the most important colony was that which reached the Acadian settlement in lower Louisiana. It is not generally known that the baptismal register of "the little village of Grand-Pré" is preserved in the archives of St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans. The Reverend Frank A. Kilday, O.M.I., rector of the cathedral, is a capable student of American church history, particularly that of the Spanish Southwest.

Bishop Herman J. Alerding's *History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes* quotes (pp. 99-100) a note on Colonel Francis Vigo drawn up on Bishop Simon Bruté in 1838 shortly after the death of Vigo and now among the Bruté notes in the Archives of the University of Notre Dame. In the note Bruté points out that Vigo not only had been friendly to the pastors of Vincennes and had acted as witness to various religious ceremonials but that the extant registers show him as trustee of the Vincennes church corporation as late as 1821. Vigo, however, refused to receive the sacraments before death. The final sentence quoted by Alerding is as follows. "This is Colonel Vigo—sixteen and seventeen years before his death a zealous Catholic. . . ." But for reasons of his own Alerding did not quote the whole of this last sentence of Bruté's note. The final passage of the original manuscript reads as follows: "This is Colonel Vigo—16 & 17 years before his death, already this venerable old man of 72 to 75 years, a zealous Catholic—but from private accounts not a practical & strictly moral one by far." Evidently Vigo was of the type of so many

of the lay trustees who involved the early American Church in public disputes and scandals. They were active in the regulation of the Church's external affairs but did not take the trouble to receive the Church's spiritual ministrations.

The Library of Congress announced on June 27 that the entire collection of the papers of Booker T. Washington had been given to the Library by the unanimous vote of the trustees of Tuskegee Institute, where the distinguished Negro educator served for so long. The collection includes an estimated 180,000 pieces and will form one of the largest manuscript collections in the Library.

More recently it was announced that the papers of Senator George William Norris—over 100,000 items—have been given to the Library of Congress. The collection is of special importance for the history of economic and social legislation during the long period of his public life. For the present, access to the papers requires Mr. Norris' consent.

The National Archives has recently published a *Handbook of Federal World War Agencies and Their Records, 1917-1921* which contains a description of the functions and records of over 2,300 agencies of the Federal Government dealing with the war and the period of reconstruction. Bibliographical references for the most important agencies are included. Cloth-bound copies of the volume are on sale at the Government Printing Office for $1.25. Further extension of the work of The National Archives is seen in the opening of a field office in Chicago. This office will assist Federal agencies in the central west in their records administration problems. The office will be under the direction of Gaston L. Litton.

The Federal Works Agency of the Works Projects Administration has issued a revised edition as of April, 1943 to *Bibliography of Research Projects Reports. Check List of Historical Records Survey Publications.* It contains a list of all publications issued by the various projects of the Works Projects Administration. It is the final volume for this Federal enterprise and supersedes the previous bibliography of September, 1940 and the revised issue of September, 1941.

At a time when the curriculum of all American colleges and universities is undergoing changes occasioned by the war it is very helpful to have the processed copies of a report circulated through the United States Office of Education on history teaching. It is entitled Adjustment of the College Curriculum to Wartime Conditions and Needs. The report is one of a series and this particular report on history was prepared by a committee appointed by the American Historical Association. For reasons of convenience it was thought preferable to group the committee members from

one geographical area. The eight members of the Committee for history were chosen from the faculty of the University of Chicago. The report is divided into five sections, viz., Ancient and Medieval, Modern Europe, United States, Latin America, and the Far East. Each section is preceded by a statement of the principal objectives which might be stressed by teachers and carries a list of suggested readings in the particular field. The report should prove of particular worth to teachers who are confronted with the problem of keeping within the severe limitations of time and space necessitated by heavy student schedules. The section on United States history is, of course, related to the results of the New York *Times* survey taken during the past year and published by the *Times* in its issue of June 21.

The American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the National Council for Social Studies have named a committee, headed by Dr. Edgar B. Wesley of the University of Minnesota, to analyze methods of teaching American history.

The paper read at the regional meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association in New York on May 8 by Professor Ross J. S. Hoffman of Fordham University is published in the July issue of the *Catholic World* under the title of "History: Basis of Prophecy."

An article in the July number of the *Review of Politics* on "Americanism and Frontier Catholicism", by Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., is of special interest to our readers. Father McAvoy has given a fresh interpretation to the thorny problem of Americanism in the Church of the United States in the late nineteenth century and has endeavored, with real plausibility, to link up that phenomenon with the frontier conditions governing the growth of the Church in this country.

The first volume of a series which promises to be of genuine assistance to students of American history has appeared under the auspices of the Rutherford B. Hayes-Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation of Fremont, Ohio. It is entitled *The United States, 1865-1900. A Survey of Current Literature with Abstracts of Unpublished Dissertations.* The years set by the editors are those in which the Foundation is naturally most interested, since they span the active life of President Hayes and his wife. Curtis Wiswell Garrison is the editor and he has been assisted by an Editorial Board of ten members and a group of over fifty contributors. The contents consist of brief digests of books and periodical literature which have appeared during the year September, 1941–September, 1942 and which were considered to have made a contribution to our knowledge of the history of the United States in the years 1865-1900. Just about half the volume is devoted to digests of unpublished dissertations written in the

principal universities. This annual volume will be a real help to workers in the field, and it is to be hoped that as time goes on the editors can include even more materials than they have in this initial endeavor. The volume sells for $1.00.

Volume XXXIV of the *Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* contains an interesting and challenging article by Arthur J. Riley, librarian of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, and author of the able monograph, *Catholicism in New England to 1788* (Washington, 1936). The title of Father Riley's article is "Catholicism and the New England Mind." In it he makes a strong plea for a fuller and more systematic study of the theological teaching of the Catholic Church before the Protestant Revolt on the part of those who would assess correctly the intellectual currents of colonial New England. For example, Father Riley takes issue with Professor Perry Miller of Harvard when the latter states that Puritan piety was Augustinian. He traces the main lines of cleavage in the theological systems of the Catholic Church and the Protestants of the seventeenth century and he insists that "the Catholic doctrine concerning man's justification is a primary source for the understanding of an abundant section of New England thought and history." Father Riley suggests subjects for research in connection with a restudy of New England history and thought in the light of the Catholic principles before the break of Christian unity in the sixteenth century. "Just as the history of Harvard University cannot be properly studied without a deep knowledge of the English universities and their derivation from the medieval universities, so the evolution of the New England mind must be presented from a background of the period in which it originated."

Thomas F. O'Connor, historiographer of the Diocese of Syracuse, edits from early nineteenth-century Catholic directories some interesting data in his article, "The Catholic Church in Vermont, A Statistical Survey, 1832-1854", which appears in the June number of *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*. The most striking fact chronicled in those years was the incendiarism practiced against St. Mary's Church, Burlington, when it was set afire in the night of May 11, 1838.

The June issue of *Franciscan Studies* carries eighteen documents relating to the Capuchin prefecture of New England. The documents, given here in the original Latin and Italian, cover the period from July, 1625 to August, 1630 and concern the episode described by John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap., in the March number of *Franciscan Studies*.

Richard Clyde Ford of Ypsilanti contributes an article to the spring number of the *Michigan History Magazine* on the subject of "The French-Canadians in Michigan". The discussion naturally centers itself around

Detroit after the French took over in July, 1701, and the story ends with the great New England immigration of the 1820's into the area when the French character of the settlement was lost to view.

The Wisconsin Historical Society held a two-day convention in Milwaukee, September 16 and 17. Following the practice which its new superintendent, Edward P. Alexander, has encouraged, the papers dealt largely with local Milwaukee history.

In July Governor Dwight W. Green of Illinois signed bills making the teaching of American history, the principles of representative government, and the Australian ballot compulsory in public schools.

A phase of the career of Thomas Francis Meagher as acting governor of the Territory of Montana is covered in the article of W. Turrentine Jackson entitled, "Montana Politics during the Meagher Régime, 1865-1867", in the June number of the *Pacific Historical Review*. Meagher, who had won a brigadier generalship during the Civil War as commander of the Irish brigade from New York, was a Republican when he went to Montana, but the local Republican tactics there caused him to change his allegiance to the Democrats, a party wherein the greater part of his fellow countrymen were enrolled during those turbulent days before Montana's admission to statehood. The article is based in large measure on unpublished materials from the Montana Territorial Papers. Mr. Jackson has edited with an introduction nine letters on another phase of this subject in the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* for July under the title of "The Appointment and Removal of Sidney Edgerton, First Governor of Montana Territory."

Raymond J. Clancy, C.S.C., has compiled an *Official Catholic Directory of the St. Mary's Parish* in Austin, Texas which embodies a considerable amount of statistical data on Catholicism in the capital of Texas. The parish beginnings can be traced to 1852. The Holy Cross Fathers have been in charge of the parish since May, 1874.

In May, 1938 the Catholic Historical Society of the Diocese of Richmond was founded by His Excellency, Peter L. Ireton, Coadjutor Bishop of Richmond. Since that time the Society has published a number of small but important items. In 1939 there appeared *A Guide Book for the Sacred Heart Cathedral*, a very attrictive brochure giving the history of Richmond's handsome cathedral. The Society has endeavored to enkindle interest throughout the diocese in parish histories, and the forty-seven page booklet of James H. Bailey, *A Century of Catholicism in Historic Petersburg. A History of Saint Joseph's Parish*, is a fine product of this interest. The parish was founded under Bishop Whelan in 1842. The most recent

publication of the Society is a reprint of *Some Notes on the Rise and Spread of the Catholic Missions in Virginia, A. D. 1774-1850* by Very Reverend Henry F. Parke, who was vicar general of the diocese under Bishop Whelan. These publications are a happy augury of the future of the Society which has been intelligently directed by Father Vincent S. Waters. He also was responsible for assembling a diocesan library that specializes in Virginia history. It is to be hoped that more diocesan societies of this kind may be founded for similar work in other parts of the country.

The September issue of the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* is devoted to articles on the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Professor Frank J. Klingberg writes on the "Contributions of the S. P. G. to the American Way of Life."

The Rockefeller Foundation has given the Library of Congress a grant of $17,650 for the expansion of its Archive of Hispanic Culture. The grant will be used to purchase photographs and slides of the work of Latin American artists. The Archive was established in 1940 and has become one of the principal centers in this country for the study of the art of Latin America.

Richard F. Pattee, lecturer in Ibero-American history at the Catholic University of America and director of the Catholic University of America Institute of Ibero-American Studies is on leave of absence during the present academic year. He will spend the first semester in Mexico, where he will lecture at the National University. Mr. Pattee is president of the American Catholic Historical Association this year.

In the July, 1943 number of *Estudios Históricos* of Guadalajara, Mexico, Dr. Luis Medina Ascensio, its editor, published the first part of his study on the Holy See and the independence of Mexico under the title of "Primeros intentos de acercamiento a Roma por medio del Arzobispo de Baltimore, 1810-1815." The article represents the results of a period of intensive research in Vatican, Rome, and Paris archives, and will therefore be received as a valuable contribution to the subject.

Vol. I, No. 1 (January-March 1943) of the *Acta Americana*, organ of the recently organized Inter-American Society of Anthropology and Geography, Washington, D. C., has just been published under the editorship of Ralph L. Beals, University of California at Los Angeles. Among the several articles which appear in the first issue, special mention should be made of Dr. Alfred Métraux's "Le Caractère de la conquête jésuitique". "Les défenseurs et les détracteurs de la Compagnie", Mr. Métraux writes, "montrent généralement plus d'intérêt pour les effets heureux ou mal-

heureux de la vie en mission sur le caractère des néophytes, que pour les méthodes mises en oeuvre pour persuader les Indiens à accepter l'existence rigoureusement disciplinée au sein de ces 'Républiques' religieuses" (p. 69). The writer believes that the extraordinary success of the missionaries may be best explained in the light of ethnographic information; and he ventures to suggest that the authority which the Jesuits were able to exercise over the Indians "semble indiquer que les derniers reconnaisaient en ces étrangers des chefs qu'ils étaient prêts à suivre" (pp. 77-78).

The Academy of the History of Cuba, Havana, has justly published a study by Monsignor Eduardo Martínez Dalmau, *La política colonial y extranjera de los Reyes españoles de la Casa de Austria y de Borbón y la Toma de La Habana por los ingleses* (La Habana: Academia de la Historia de Cuba, 1943). An appendix, "Copia de un manuscrito inédito del Sitio de La Habana por los Ingleses", is included.

Prof. Agustín Aragón Leiva contributes "El Ingreso del Pbro. Don José Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez en la Academia Real de Ciencias de París, y el Viaje a California del Abate Jean Chappe D'Auteroche" in Tome 55, Numbers 7-9 of the *Memorias y Revista de la Academia Nacional de Ciencias Antonio Alzate*, Mexico City. In another work, *Elogio a Alzate* (México, D.F.: Editorial Cultura, 1942), Prof. Aragón takes issue with the many American authors who "se han empeñado en descubrir que *México es un país predominantemente indio.*" And he goes on to say: "Todos ellos, notable hecho, son mentes escapadas de los museos franceses del siglo XVIII, son hijos de ese falaz reaccionario y exaltado retrógrado que se llamó Juan Jacobo Rousseau" (p. 21). In another passage Prof. Aragón berates those same critics of Mexico for having denied "la filiación victoriosa de México a los más elevados ideales de la cultura de Occidente. . . ." (p. 21).

The Venezuelan diplomat and writer, Caracciolo Parra-Pérez, has collected forty-six of his published articles, dealing primarily with Francesco de Miranda and Simón Bolívar, under the title of *Páginas de Historia y de Polémica* (Caracas: Litografía del Comercio, 1943). A number of Sr. Parra-Pérez's studies deal with religious and ecclesiastical questions of a controversial nature.

Under the direction of Enrique Ortega Ricaurte, the Municipal Council of Bogotá, Colombia, has published a volume of documents which historians will find valuable for the study of the life of General Francisco de Paula Santander: *Acuerdos del Consejo de Gobierno de la República de Colombia 1821-1824* (Bogotá: Imprenta Municipal, 1940). A brief preface to the work is contributed by Jorge Soto del Corral.

Snr. Antônio Simões dos Reis is doing a very useful thing with his *Bibliografia Nacional*, published by Zélio Valverde of Rio de Janeiro. His annotated topical bibliography of significant books and articles which appeared in Brazil in 1942 is now complete in seven small volumes; for the current year, a first volume has already been issued. The project will prove exceedingly helpful to those who follow the present Brazilian intellectual scene.

By a special decree President Getulio Vargas of Brazil has granted a plot of land for the building of a Catholic University at Rio de Janeiro.

Several documents and discourses concerning the recent agreement between the Holy See and Portugal in matters of church administration have been collected by Father Miguel de Oliveira in an attractively printed book which the Secretariat of National Propaganda, Lisbon, has issued under the title of *Portugal e a Santa Sé Concordata e acórdo missionário de 7 de Maio de 1940* (Lisboa: Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional, 1943).

Difficulties of war-time transportation have caused the Vatican to permit the publication of the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* outside of Rome. Single copies will be flown to Washington and other world centers. The journal will be circulated in photostatic form to ensure exact identity of contents.

Volume I of *Seminar*, an annual extraordinary number of *The Jurist*, appeared this summer. This annual special issue is intended to serve as a vehicle of publication for articles in the field of historical jurisprudence. There are six articles in the present volume, most of them papers presented at the Riccobono Seminar of Roman Law. Our readers will be especially interested in the article of Guido Kisch, "Nationalism and Race in Medieval Law," and that of Vladimir Gsovski, "Roman Law and the Polish Jurists." The 100-page number, priced at $1.00, can be secured through *The Jurist*, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

The review article of James Brodrick, S.J., on "The Letters of Father Persons," in the May-June number of *The Month*, makes us anxious for the arrival of the latest volume of the *Publications of the Catholic Record Society* in this country so that an extended notice of the work can be given in a future issue of the REVIEW. The letters of the famous sixteenth-century English Jesuit have been edited with translations by Father Leo Hicks, S.J. They cover the crucial decade 1578-1588, during which the Jesuit mission was getting under way. The contents reveal for the first time in full the Persons' story in these years. Among the interesting details is the proof which they bring, so Father Brodrick tells us, of the very close relations between Persons and Cardinal Allen.

Sean O'Faolin's biography of Hugh O'Neill, "the first great Renaissance character in Irish history," will prove instructive reading to those interested in English policy in Ireland in penal times.

Those who are familiar with John L. Brown's excellent study on Jean Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (The Catholic University of America Press, 1939) will be especially interested to know that the *Methodus* is now available in French translation: Jean Bodin, *La Méthode de l'histoire* traduite pour la première fois et présentée par Pierre Mesnard (Publications de la faculté des lettres d'Alger, IIe série, tome XIV). This translation was completed during the dark days of 1940 and published in Algiers in 1941. For Mesnard, a professor at the University of Algiers, the work was carried on as a manifestation of the will to continuity of intellectual endeavor under the most adverse circumstances. His earlier studies well fitted him for the task of translating this "ars historica"—the *Essor de la pensée politique au 16me siècle* has an admirable chapter on the *République*.

The *Methodus*, published in 1566, Bodin's first major book, contained the germs of the *République* as well as themes that were to reappear in later reproductions. Written in a rather crabbed Latin, it has been relatively inaccessible to the modern reader. Although the book does have considerable importance for anyone interested in the intellectual history of the Renaissance, it is rather dubious whether a complete translation of it was necessary. A well-edited selection of pertinent passages, omitting the many superfluous speculations on numerology, astrology, etc., would have been sufficient. The introduction of some twenty-five pages gives a good summary of the present state of Bodin studies in Europe and America, together with a sketch of the particular contributions of Bodin to historical thinking, notably to the conception of "sociological history."

Father José Madoz, S.J., has published a critical edition of the collection of letters of St. Braulio according to Codex 22 of the Cathedral Archives of Leon (Madrid, 1941). His work constitutes a valuable contribution, since scholars have had to rely on the inadequate edition of Risco for this important source.

This year marks the 700th anniversary of the arrival of the Dominicans in Ireland. The first priory was erected at Tralee in County Kerry in 1243.

The Copernican quadricentennial is commemorated by a series of seven articles published in the July number of the *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*.

The Fathers of St. Edmund are observing the centenary of their foundation and the fiftieth anniversary of their coming to Vermont. They were founded at Pontigny in France.

The *Pittsburg Catholic* was founded by the first bishop of Pittsburgh, Michael O'Connor, a hundred years ago.

A volume of historical essays by Peter Leo Johnson commemorating the centenary of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee is in press.

The Catholic Order of Foresters is celebrating this year the sixtieth anniversary of their founding. They were originally organized in Holy Family Parish in Chicago in May, 1883, by a group of forty-two men. The Order now embraces over 1100 courts with a membership of more than 130,000 Catholic men and boys. The anniversary is commemorated in an illustrated booklet entitled *Sixty Years of Service*.

The Most Reverend Francis C. Kelley, Bishop of Oklahoma City and Tulsa, will observe the golden jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood this fall. Bishop Kelley is a member of the American Catholic Historical Association.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* edited by Clayton Torrence celebrated its semi-centennial in July. The occasion was noted in the July issue of the review by an article which gave its history and a catalogue of the publications of the Virginia Historical Society, of which it is the organ.

The sermon delivered by the Very Reverend James H. Griffiths on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the enactment of the Code of Canon Law at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception appears in the July number of *The Jurist*.

A well-illustrated brochure has been prepared by Father Eugene F. J. Maier in his *History of St. Martin of Tours Parish, 1923-1943*. This Philadelphia parish was begun in June, 1923 and has grown steadily during its two decades of existence.

The June issue of *Studies* has an article on Father T. Corcoran, S.J., founder of *Studies* in 1912 and professor of education in University College, Dublin, from 1909 to 1942, who died earlier this year.

The death on July 31 of the Very Reverend John F. Fenlon, S.S., Provincial of the Sulpicians in the United States since 1925, deprived the American Church of one of its most distinguished and familiar figures. Father Fenlon was a graduate of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, an institution over which he later presided for nearly two decades. His graduate work in theology was taken in Rome and Paris. Although not a professional historian, there were few more widely read priests in the country in the history of the Church and few who were so intimately acquainted with the Church's history in America during the last forty years. His position as secretary of the National Catholic War Council in the days of the first World War brought him into close association with the problems of the

war years and the post-war era. Father Fenlon was ever a loyal member of the American Catholic Historical Association. It was in testimony of the contribution of the Society of St. Sulpice and the personal accomplishments of its Provincial to the American Church that Monsignor Guilday dedicated to Father Fenlon his volume on *A History of the Councils of Baltimore, 1791-1884* (New York, 1932).

Charles McLean Andrews, pre-eminent historian of the American colonies and for twenty-one years editor of Yale University's historical publications, died recently in New Haven in his eightieth year.

Documents: The Authorship of the Journal of Jean Cavelier. Jean Delanglez (*Mid-America*, July).—The Capuchin Prefecture of New England (1630-1656). John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap. (*Franciscan Studies*, June).—The Calvert-Stier Correspondence. William D. Hoyt, Jr., Ed. (*Maryland Histor. Mag.*, June).—Two letters addressed to the Reverend Joseph Ferdinand Mueller of the Ludwigmissionsverein, one from Bishop Henni and one from the Reverend Michael Heiss, secretary to the bishop. Peter Leo Johnson (Ed) (*Salesianum*, July).—Una antigue pieza litúrgica inédita (?agustiniana o visigótica?). A. C. Vega (*La Ciudad de Dios*, May).—?Un opúsculo desconocido e inédito del M. Vitoria? A. C. Vega (*ibid.*).

BRIEF NOTICES

DAVIS, EDWIN ADAMS (Ed.) *Plantation Life in the Florida Parishes of Louisiana 1836-1846 as Reflected in the Diary of Bennet H. Barrow.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. xvi, 457. $5.00.)

This study is composed of the diary and records of Bennet Barrow and an Introduction. The latter is well done, but does not add especially to the information to be drawn from the diary.

The diarist was a strange character. He spent wildly on horses, was always ready for a party, even going to the length of "kidnapping" guests. However, he kept close guard over his fields and slaves.

Perhaps the diary was published as a study of a planter's treatment of his slaves. How far Barrow can serve as an example is for others to say. His attitude toward his Negroes is about the same as the present-day corporation president's attitude to his employees—one of efficiency in output. He certainly showed no fatherly attitude. Mr. Barrow gloried in his distaste for religion and especially vents himself on "d—— Preachers," but he was pathetic in his groping for religious consolation at the death of his wife. There is no sign of his having done any cultural reading and in spite of the item in his account of one hundred dollars for books he evidently read nothing but the newspapers. His diary shows no imagination, no sense of humor, yet it is difficult not to feel kindly to a man who could appreciate the thrill of seeing "two Rain bows at one time."

By the Florida Parishes is meant that part of Louisiana along the Gulf and east of the Mississippi. There is an extensive Bibliography but no Index.

(RICHARD C. MADDEN)

DEMPSEY, BERNARD W., S.J. *Interest and Usury.* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs. 1943. Pp. xii, 233. Cloth, $3.50; Paper, $3.00.)

This study of interest and usury by Father Dempsey, chairman of the Department of Economics in St. Louis University, deals with a sharply limited phase of the problem. He contrasts the interest theories of four modern writers —Wicksell, Von Mises, Schumpeter, and Keynes with the usury doctrine of three early Jesuit writers—Molina, Lessius, and De Lugo. The purpose of the comparison is to show a substantial identity in certain important conclusions, even though the starting points of the several analyses may be quite divergent. The economists studied are concerned with two primary problems. They endeavor to explain the origin of interest and from this to draw conclusions regarding the attainment of economic equilibrium, preferably at a state of full employment of resources. The theologians, on the other hand, concentrate

upon the problem of commutative justice insofar as it applies to the taking of interest (usury). The conclusion reached is that many situations which would be condemned as morally unjust would be rejected by economists as producing economic disequilibrium. Conversely, other contracts, superficially usurious, which the late scholastics accepted as within the *aequalitas justitiae*, are considered by present-day economists of the neo-classical school as contributing to sound economic life.

The author of this work is to be commended for its underlying thesis, as well as for the scholarship involved in the separate studies. It represents an attempt to bring together ethical and economic analysis and to show in a very limited sphere that there is no divergence between sound ethical theory and competent economic analysis. *A priori* we know this to be a fact, since right reason in the sphere of morals cannot contradict right reason in other spheres of knowledge. Nevertheless, for several centuries there has been far too little practical recognition of this truth. Business men, for reasons ably explained by Tawney, Fanfani, and others, have resented the "intrusion" of moralists. Theologians in their turn have often been either unable or unwilling to carry their ethical conclusions through to practical application in the world of industry, finance, and commerce.

Of necessity, Father Dempsey is arbitrary in the choice of material considered. Even within the announced scope, however, there is room for controversy concerning the inclusion and exclusion of authors and topics. Furthermore, the work would have been improved by a more extensive Index and the placing of footnotes at the bottom of each page instead of after the several chapters. (JOHN F. CRONIN)

GODOLPHIN, FRANCIS R. B. (Ed.) *The Greek Historians. The Complete and Unabridged Historical Works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Arrian.* 2 Volumes. (New York: Random House. 1942. Pp. xxxviii, 1001; 964. $6.00.)

The purpose of these two volumes is to make available to the general reader the chief historical works of the Greeks in a convenient form and at a modest price. The editor has selected translations which have long become standard. Herodotus appears in the translation of George Rawlinson, Thucydides in that of Benjamin Jowett, Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Hellenica* in that of Henry Dakyns, and Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander* in that of Edward J. Chinnock. Furthermore, the Appendix contains versions of the following additional works: *The Behistun Inscription of Darius* (translated by Col. Henry Rawlinson), *The Constitution of the Athenians* by "the Old Oligarch" (translated by H. G. Dakyns), Xenophon's *Wqys and Means* (translated by H. G. Dakyns), Xenophon's *Constitution of the Spartans* (translated by H. G. Dakyns), Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* (translated by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon), and Arrian's *Indica* (translated by E. J. Chinnock).

The General Introduction attempts to place the four historians represented in the main text in their proper historical setting and to give the non-specialist some understanding of the method and outlook of ancient Greek historiography. The sparse notes accompanying the translations are, for the most part,

adapted from those of the original translators. In the Appendix the editor furnishes a sketch of coinage and purchasing power in the period before Alexander, a short list of ancient measures and distances, and a brief glossary of technical terms which occur in the Greek historians. Relatively copious indices are supplied for the historical works contained in the main text.

The two volumes, on the whole, fulfill their purpose. A great mass of Greek historical writings is made easily available, and at a remarkably low price. It was an excellent thought to add the works contained in the Appendix. In spite of their importance, they are not as well known to the general reader of ancient history as they deserve to be.

These volumes, however, have certain shortcomings. Why did not the editor include Polybius? As compared with Polybius, Arrian is a second or third-rate historian. If both could not be included, then Polybius should have been selected. Incidentally, Polybius receives a very short and cavalier treatment in the General Introduction. This is to be regretted since the general reader is led to regard Arrian as much more significant than he really was and to dismiss Polybius as an historian without interest because he lacked the gift of style. From the Selected Bibliography at the end of the General Introduction, the reviewer misses, among other items, Bury's *Ancient Greek Historians*. This work would be especially helpful to the reader for whom these volumes are intended. The notes actually presented are not free from criticism in detail, but the main defect here is the sparseness of notes throughout. The non-specialist, as a result, will find many passages in these books unintelligible. A full glossary of technical terms could have remedied the difficulty somewhat, but the present glossary is quite inadequate. Lastly, the editor should have included an index to the works contained in the Appendix. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

HAINES, C. GROVE, and ROSS, J. S. HOFFMAN. *The Origins and Background of the Second World War*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. 659. $3.25.)

"Modern history, viewed in its broadest aspect, presents itself as the history of growing world organization: an immense effort to integrate the human race in a system of orderly relations, and a ceaseless resistance to that effort (p. 7)." Upon this thought-pattern the authors have written what amounts to an *entre-deux-guerres* history of Europe (and relatedly of the United States and of the Far East). Throughout, the formal object of their study has been tenaciously pursued: the social, cultural, political, economic, and diplomatic developments of the period 1914-1941, insofar as those developments served to engender or to harbor the forces which are now disrupting the world community.

For world community has been in the past and still is the aspiration of good men everywhere. At the Peace of Paris the League looked like an answer. But the League failed, chiefly for two reasons—the ostracization of Communist Russia from the European family, and the fateful abstention of the United States. Irresponsibility bred isolationism, with appeasement in its

train. Today the nations are suffering for having blindly and selfishly sacrificed the real good of the whole to the apparent good of the part.

These are the leading ideas in a profusely detailed and generally admirable study of the whole period. Some things, however, are exceptionable. The account of the Spanish Civil War (pp. 409-432) passes over in silence the viciously anti-Christian character of the Loyalist cause. The analysis of racialism (pp. 40-45) does not adequately uncover its spiritual roots, although these are discernible to the historian as well as to the theologian. And the over-all attitude toward Russian Communism seems more sociologically pragmatic than the metaphysics of good and evil would allow. May one not remain skeptical about the ultimate possibility of domesticating the Russian bear in Europe's house?

Attractively written, this volume is equipped with sixteen black-and-white Maps, a good Index, and a copious Bibliography *raisonnée* at the close of each of its fifteen chapters. (DANIEL J. HONAN)

HARROLD, CHARLES E. (Ed.) *A Newman Treasury*. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1943. Pp. xii, 404. $4.00.)

It was, not so many years ago, considered a fair index of good taste and scholarly interests to have on one's library shelves a set of Newman or at least copies of his better known works. A cursory glance was all that was needed to know that for the most part these were not touch-me-not room decorations, but well-used servants in the employ of their masters.

Due possibly to twentieth-century ballyhoo of best-seller lists and book-of-the-month clubs, Newman seems to be for the coming generation but a vague figure, statuesque if you like, but neverthless a figure of an era that is gone forever. *Tempora mutantur*. This reviewer sincerely hopes that Professor Harrold's one volume of condensed Newmaniana may challenge the curiosity of hurried readers and thus serve to inaugurate a movement back to Newman, to the man whose soul was as gentle as a nun's, to the scholar whose mind ran clear and strong as a mountain freshet, to the apologist whose whole being throbbed with love and loyalty to his late-found love—the Church.

This *Newman Treasury* is just what the title indicates—a selection. The editor believes he has selected "what Newman himself would have wished or permitted to be published in one volume at the end of his career." It might be ungracious and probably unfair to question this statement, for, as Mr. Harrold himself so aptly says, no anthology can be all things to all men. He feels it necessary to tell us that he is an Episcopalian. No one, the reviewer believes, will justly accuse him of having permitted his religious loyalties to present a list of Newmaniana based on them.

Under six chapter headings the reader will find offerings from the best that Newman wrote. Essays and Discourses give portions of the *Idea of a University, Development of Christian Doctrine, Present Position of Catholics in England*, and *Grammar of Assent*. Under Sermons we have *Parochial and Plain Sermons, Sermons on Subjects of the Day, Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, and *Second Spring*. The third chapter offers selections on Miscellaneous Subjects taken from the whole range of Newman's prose works. A

fourth chapter of Aphoristic Selections may come as a surprise to those for whom Newman, if they know him at all, is just a writer of fine prose or an apologist for church doctrine. There follows a short chapter from *Meditations and Devotions*. The book ends most happily with the *Apologia pro vita sua*.

Professor Harrold's chapter of introduction to the volume is extremely well done, as are also the lesser introductions to each of the six chapters. It is refreshing to note that he puts between quotation marks "Newman's credulity", and that for him, as for any really intelligent person, there is little of mystery attaching to a man who, having recognized that the Church, his Church, speaks with the authority of Christ, the eternal Son of God, no longer feels free to pick and choose his doctrines, but renders complete and childlike submission to all that the Church declares to be true because God Himself has put on it the stamp of His own approval.

The very last pages of this book give us a helpful chronology—landmarks in the life and times of Newman—and a rather complete Bibliography on Newmaniana. (LOUIS A. ARAND)

JAMET, DOM ALBERT. *Marguerite Bourgeois, 1620-1700*. 2 Volumes. (Montréal: La Presse Catholique Panaméricaine. 1942. Pp. xiv, 398; vi, 403-794, 20.)

The contents of this work, to which His Eminence, Cardinal Villeneuve of Quebec writes the Preface, is divided into eight sections running through the two volumes. Dom Jamet is well known to historians through his works on Marie de l'Incarnation and the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec, both of which are considered studies of genuine erudition. Some readers may at first regret not to find a special bibliography, but the numerous references at the end of these two volumes on Marguerite Bourgeois make up for the lack of a formal bibliography. Many books have been written on the subject of this biography; yet one may say that no author to date has made so extensive and practically exhaustive a study of this interesting woman. Dom Jamet has not only made use of all the published works, but he has likewise discovered much new material in the archives of France and of Canada. These fresh sources help to establish his monograph as the ranking work on Marguerite Bourgeois, and the book will be the standard life for a long time to come.

Another important feature of these volumes is that the author disposes of certain legends accepted by former biographers as facts. Readers will find in this work what was the real life in New France in the seventeenth century and they will conceive a better opinion of a colony too often branded as a doubtful enterprise. The same remark applies, of course, to the previous works of Dom Jamet. (ARTHUR MAHEUX)

MAILLAUD, PIERRE. *France*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. 138. $1.25.)

The identity of the author of this short but closely printed number of The World To-Day Series is revealed in the Foreword by D. W. Brogan who says: "It is fitting that Oxford, the oldest child of the University of Paris, should enable a Frenchman to speak." While P. Maillaud holds that it is "too early to expect any effort to place the tragic events in their historical context" (p.

7), he goes a long way in giving the reader an objective and dispassionate analysis of the causes of the French disaster. We find in the first part a broad sketch of the fortunes which led France in the course of a thousand years to the position she occupied in the world in 1939, and an attractive picture of the French people, the French mind, and French culture. The second part deals with the French crisis in the twentieth century. The main problem, in the eyes of the author, was the demographic problem. Since 1913 the French population had remained stationary, and after the first World-War, French needed years of peace to recover from the loss of a million and a half soldiers killed in battle. He feels that a change-over from an excess of rural population to progressive urbanization and concentration of industries might have restored the balance of power, but that was contrary to the French tradition and way of life. The last decade he characterizes as one of "Endemic Revolution" and "Intellectual and Moral Hamletism." Torn between the two contradictions inherent in modern nations—authority and individual freedom—France had inclined to an excess of the latter. He ends with a pathetic portrait of France "Under the German Heel," with an appeal, which is also a warning, to England to decide whether the force which France represents even in her defeat, "shall gravitate in the future around a centralized Europe, or preserve with England and other nations the independence of Western culture and its unique contribution to the progress of a free Europe" (p. 134).

We appreciate the objectivity of this analysis, but we regret omissions which impair its value in the eyes of the Catholic reader. Two pages (100-101) devoted to the Church influence are altogether inadequate, and no mention is made of the factor of division among Frenchmen represented by the anticlericalism of the republican regime with its restrictions on religious liberty and its constant effort towards state monopoly in education. (JULES A. BAISNÉE)

MCMAHON, THOMAS J. (Ed.) *Adventures of Alonso: Containing Some Striking Anecdotes of the Present Prime Minister of Portugal,* with "The First American Novel" by Robert H. Elias [a reprint of the article in *American Literature,* XII, January, 1941]. (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1943. Pp. xxviii, 144.)

This first American novel, which appeared anonymously in London in 1775 and preceded William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy* by fourteen years, was discovered by Robert H. Elias of the University of Pennsylvania, who cogently argues that its author is Thomas Atwood Digges, a member of an old Catholic family of Maryland. According to Mr. Elias' researches, Digges was probably educated in England, resided in Lisbon for some time, and spent the Revolutionary years in England aiding American prisoners and secretly arranging for the shipment of war material to America. When Digges failed to give an account of money expended in the American cause, Franklin became suspicious of his loyalty; but Mr. Elias offers Digges' imprisonment in Dublin as evidence of his patriotism. The novel itself reveals a writer who would very likely support the rebel colonies: Digges' mouthpiece, the Portuguese Alonso, is apprehensive of the imminence of arbitrary government in England and de-

scribes, probably for the benefit of the British public, the despotism in Portugal under the minister Pombal. Alonso is the familiar traveler-critic of eighteenth-century essay and fiction, utilized by Digges for the objective expression of republican sentiments and reflections on government, society, and commerce from the point of view of a progressivist.

The *Adventures of Alonso* is less moralistic and sentimental than later American fiction, and with the exception of the account of the hero's captivity among the Moors it is less sensational. Digges is more intent on telling a story, however episodic, than in moralizing over the misfortunes suffered by Alonso after his elopement with a married woman. Although the characterization is two-dimensional and the plot thin, full of badly managed coincidences and awkward digressions, students of American fiction will be interested in this early attempt to enliven narrative with a hero shaped by the Enlightenment. Alonso's adventures typify the man of the world: travel and an education in liberal England—permitted by a father whose wide trade connections have made him a cosmopolite—have freed the hero of "that arrogance and presumption so common to his countrymen." This is the latest addition to the monograph series of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York. (G. Giovannini)

Mizwa, Stephen P. *Nicholas Copernicus, 1543-1943.* (New York: Kosciuszko Foundation. 1943. Pp. 88. 75c.) This booklet was prepared as a souvenir volume of the fourth centenary of the death of Copernicus (May 24, 1943) and was intended to furnish material and suggestions for Copernican celebrations. At the same time it was so planned as "to retain its value after it has served its present purpose." The first two parts in particular (pp. 11-60) satisfy this broader aim. They treat of Copernicus as astronomer, as economist, and of his whole life in general together with the problems of his territorial and genealogical backgrounds. While these essays are a popular product they offer considerable factual information, supplemented by bibliographical suggestions and comments. The booklet is abundantly illustrated and well printed. An interesting illustrative feature is the fine symbolical portrait of Copernicus prepared as the cover design by the miniaturist, Arthur Szyk. (Sister M. Neomisia Rutkowska)

Mowat, R. B., and Preston Slosson. *History of the English-Speaking Peoples.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 577. $4.00.)

This book is presented by its co-authors, one an Englishman who has lectured widely in this country and the other an American with an extensive background of teaching in Britain, as "something of an experiment and an adventure." Inevitably its title will serve to create in many minds unacquainted with the scholarly integrity of Professors Mowat and Slosson an erroneous pre-examination impression. Though obviously written as a consequence of conditions which have temporarily welded the English-speaking nations into unprecedentedly close collaboration, the work is definitely not just one more propagandist effort aimed at bolstering the Union Now campaign. In fact, the absence of jingoistic interpretations and condonations—except in

rare and possibly debatable instances—is one of the most refreshing features of this novel survey.

While some textbook apparatus has been included, such as twelve sketch Maps, an adequate Index, and a brief annotated Bibliography, the book appears to be primarily intended for the general reading public. Nicely proportioned despite its extensive range, uniformly clear, and written in an easily flowing style it should appeal widely. Deference to divided opinions held by historians is evidenced by such appraisals as, "how much of the greatness of the Elizabethan Age may be safely attributed to the queen herself is a much mooted question." Occasional touches of humor and epigrammatic characterizations of important historical figures, e.g., "Henry VIII all his life had little regard for justice but much for legality", do much to lighten the narrative. There is no attempt to gloss over the perennial injustice and intermittent brutality meted out to Ireland. The evident fairness of the writers is further displayed in their reverent treatment of the Church and religion, the exclusion of the old anti-Spanish canards, and in such tributes as "More than any other colonizers, the French have succeeded in getting along in a friendly fashion with native peoples." Exceptions are rare. Among these may be noted: the whitewashing of Drake, and the misleading if not distorted relation of events leading up to the Spanish-American War. Many will take exception to the unqualified observation that "India in the second British Empire was administered rather as a political trust than as an economic adventure." A few typographical errors appear, viz., "Charles in 1621," should read "1631" (p. 125 note), and "Quebec Act, 1776", (p. 162) is clearly a misprint.

With the unquestioned prospect of having the destinies of the United States, Britain, and the Empire bound together most intimately for many years to come, any straightforward attempt to promote a more sympathetic mutual understanding among their peoples is worthy of commendation. The authors have made a substantial contribution in this direction. (CLARENCE J. RYAN)

POST, ALBERT, Ph.D. *Popular Freethought in America, 1825-1850.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 258. $3.00.)

This monograph by a former staff member of The National Archives will augment the increasing number on the subject of American opinion on various subjects in one period or other of our national history. The limits are established for the second quarter of the last century because the 1820's marked a resurgence of infidel thought following a decline in the closing years of the eighteenth century, and by the time the mid-century arrived infidelity was again on the downgrade. As was to be expected, the chief centers of freethought in these years were the large eastern cities where the activities of Frances Wright, Benjamin Offen, Abner Kneeland, Thomas Cooper and others found the greatest response, but the West was not unaffected, as the investigation of Dr. Post makes clear. The author treats the subject under the general headings of the freethought press, societies, propaganda, relation to socialism, the attacks of Christians against the inroads of infidelity, while a final chapter is devoted to "The Creed of the Freethinker."

Dr. Post has included an extensive Bibliography of freethought sources such as newspapers, pamphlets, and books which contained their creed and their methods of diffusion and attack upon the Christian churches. With the exception of the work of Purcell on *Connecticut in Transition* and three items on Orestes Brownson, the reviewer noted no works either by or about Catholics.

The number of Englishmen who led in this freethought movement was very noticeable. Most of the leaders in the early years were immigrants to America from the British Isles. Meanwhile, the Catholic debates of the period were directed toward a defense of the Church from Protestant attacks; it was that object which used up the energies of the Church's leaders as, for example, in the Hughes-Breckinridge debate of 1833 and the Purcell-Campbell debate in Cincinnati four years later. The most dangerous enemy of the Catholic Church in this quarter century came from the Nativist camp and for that reason little attention was given to the passing sorties of the freethinkers. It would be interesting to know if Dr. Post found any relationship between the freethinkers and the Nativists.

The volume is well done and deserves a respected place among the growing number of studies on American public opinion. The reviewer noted only one misprint, viz., "representatves" for "representatives" (p. 165). The author allows the story to tell itself from a wide range of sources which are carefully indicated in footnotes. This reviewer would call attention to only one sentence which might be misconstrued as the opinion of Dr. Post rather than that of the freethinker. In his discussion of the scepticism prevalent in the fatherland of the immigrant Germans he remarks: . . . "in the universities the development of the natural sciences and biblical and historical criticism had converted the Scriptures into a series of myths" (p. 198). It would have been preferable for the author to have indicated that this was his own view of the result of German university development, or merely that of the followers of German rationalism. Finally the extension of toleration to dissenters in Virginia by the parliamentary enactment of 1689 did not include Catholics as might be assumed from the phrasing of the statement (p. 12). (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

SHEED, F. J. (Tr.). *The Confessions of St. Augustine*. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1943. Pp. xxii, 354. $3.00.) There are already some twelve English translations, in whole or in part, of the *Confessions*, the best of which is possibly that by Dom Roger Hudleston (London, 1923). Why then a new translation? The question has been anticipated. "Precisely because the book is so modern. Most of the existing translations are in an English that is now archaic. The present translation has no claim save that it tries to be in the English people speak now, just as St. Augustine wrote in the Latin people spoke then." Its aim is to give "to those who do not read difficult Latin easily a reasonable idea of what St. Augustine said."

The translator has succeeded in giving not only "a reasonable idea of what St. Augustine said," but a very readable and, on the whole, a reliable version of the *Confessions*. The format of the volume is attractive. The introductory remarks are few but to the point. The Table of Contents, arranged accord-

ing to books, states concisely the matter of each chapter and, for the convenience of the reader, is repeated book by book as the translation proceeds. The breaking up of the text into paragraphs is an additional help to the reader in following the thought. The translation covers the thirteen Books of the *Confessions* (Books I-IX, the spiritual biography of their author; Book X, a picture of his state of soul at the time of their composition; Books XI-XIII, a commentary on the first chapter of Genesis) and affords a remarkably accurate rendering into contemporary speech of a text admittedly difficult, while retaining, in so far as is possible in translation, the sublimity of the original. There are, however, some few passages in which the translator's attempt to simplify Augustinian language has, in the opinion of the reviewer, rendered its interpretation more difficult or detracted from the force of the original. The Latinist will note here and there an unwarranted liberty in the rendering of individual words and phrases. At times, the punctuation, or its lack, forces the reader to a second or even a third scrutiny of the text.

The following minor slips have been noted: Your mercy had provided sustained me (p. 6); analagous (p. 106); for there is Trinity where because (p. 328). (Sister Genevieve Marie Cook)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Esencia gnoseologia de la historia. Carlos Scudellari (*Revista de la Universidad Católica dél Perú*, Apr.).

The Historian and the Lawyer. W. L. Burn (*History*, Mar.).

American Catholics and Sociology. Brendan Wolf, O.F.M. (*Franciscan Studies*, June).

The Evolution and Classification of Philosophical Life Theories. James Van der Veldt, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

Our Lady's Part in the Redemption according to Seventeenth-Century Writers. J. B. Carol, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

St. Bonaventure, Defender of Christian Wisdom. Patrick Robert, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

Dante's Political Ideas. Barabara Barclay Carter (*Rev. of Politics*, July).

Rousseau and Totalitarianism. Robert A. Nisbet (*Journal of Politics*, May).

Carlyle, Hitler, and Emerson: A Comparison of Political Theories. Irene P. McKeehan (*University of Colorado Studies*, Series B, Vol. 2, No. 1, May, 1943).

What is still Living in the Political Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson. Carl Becker (*Amer. Histor. Rev.*, July).

The Collection of World War I Materials in the States. Lester J. Cappon (*ibid.*).

German Idealism and American Theories of the Democratic Community. Thomas I. Cook and Arnaud B. Leavelle (*Journal of Politics*, Aug.).

Maps: How to Make Them and Read Them. Walter W. Ristow (*Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, June).

St. Christopher in a Comedy of Errors [authenticity of one of the first dated prints of the saint]. Frank Weitenkampf (*ibid.*).

Aramaic and Greek Gospels. C. C. McCown (*Anglican Theological Rev.*, July).

The Nicene Faith and the Legislation of the Early Byzantine Emperors. Richard M. Honig (*ibid.*).

The Codex Verona LX (58). W. Telfer (*Harvard Theological Rev.*, July).

Cartade S. Policarpo, bispo de Smirna e mártir, aos filipenses [an introduction and translation]. Anon. (*A Ordem*, Mar.).

Sermão de São Leão Magno sôbre a paixão do Senhor (Sermão LVII). (*ibid.*, Apr.).

S. Gregório Nazianzeno—Sermão sôbre a Páscoa. Anon. (*ibid.*, May).

East and West, the Photian Schism: a Re-statement of Facts. F. Dvornik (*Month*, July–Aug.).

The Future of the Islamic World. Humphrey J. T. Johnson (*ibid.*).

Interpretation vorscholastischer Texte über die Eucharistie. Joh. Brinktrine (*Divus Thomas*, Sept. 1942)

Irish Saints in the Liturgical and Artistic Tradition of Central Europe. John Hennig (*Irish Ecclesiastical Rec.*, Mar.).

St. Hippolytus. Philip Prime, S.J. (*ibid.*, May).

St. Justin and the Eucharist. John Morson, O.Cist. (*ibid.*).

Towards Industrial Democracy. C. Lucey (*ibid.*).

Economic Aspects of New Zealand and Portugal. B. Berthan Waters (*ibid.*).

An Anselmian Revival. Romanus Rios, O.S.B. (*Dublin Rev.*, Apr.).

The Statecraft of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. Watkin Williams (*ibid.*).

Portrait of John XXII. J. R. Wingfield Digby (*ibid.*, Jan.).
Simon de Monfort 1208-1265. Louis Godefroy (*Culture*, June).
St. Bernardine of Siena and His Monogram of the Name of Jesus. John B. Wuest, O.F.M. (*Provincial Chronicle*, St. John Baptist Province, Spring).
The Coronation of Petrarch. Ernest H. Wilkins (*Speculum*, Apr.).
A Legend of St. Pachomius. Charles W. Jones (*ibid.*).
Roman Law and Early Representation in Spain and Italy, 1150-1250. Gaines Post (*ibid.*).
Ausonius's Riddle of the Number Three. Marcel Françon (*ibid.*).
Plans for the Organization of International Peace, 1306-1789: A List of Thirty-six Peace Proposals. Rudolf Hirsch (*Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Aug.).
The Rise and Main Characteristics of the Anglican Evangelical Movement in England and America. Alexander Clinton Zabriskie (*Histor. Mag. of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, June).
Spiritual Antecedents of Anglican Evangelicalism. Charles Wesley Lowry, Jr. (*ibid.*).
The Evangelicals and the Bible. Stanley Brown-Serman (*ibid.*).
The Doctrine of the Ministry in Reformed Theology. John T. McNeill (*Church History*, June).
The Medieval Pattern in Luther's Views of the State. E. G. Schwiebert (*ibid*).
The Greek Orthodox Position on the Confession of Cyril Lucaris. George P. Michaelides (*ibid.*).
Early Missionary Enterprise in China. E. I. Murphy (*Month*, May–June).

EUROPEAN

Europe and the Smaller Peoples. Christopher Dawson (*Dublin Review*, July).
The Problem of Smaller Nations. Wladyslaw Kulski (*ibid.*).
Political Myths and the Conversion of the Germans. Count Nicolas Sollohub (*ibid.*).
El concepto de España según los cronicones de la alta edad media. Alvarez Rubio (*Príncipe de Viana*, Pamplona, III, no. 7).
El juicio de la Tabla en las Ordenanzas Municipales de Zaragoza. Felipe Aragüés Pérez (*Universidad*, Oct.).
El monasterio de San Urbez de Serrablo: Estudio histórico y diplomático de su documentación hasta la muerte de Ramiro II. Angel Canellas López (*ibid.*, Jan.).
Arias Montano. A. García de la Fuente (*La Ciudad de Dios*, May, 1941).
La presentación de Averroes en la corte Almohade. N. Morata (*ibid.*).
Influencia de S. Ambrosio en la conversión de S. Agustín. S. Fernandez (*ibid.*).
Notas para el estudio de la idea imperial leonesa. López Ortis (*ibid.*).
Una herejía judaizante del siglo VIII en España. A. C. Vega (*ibid.*).
El Primado Romano y la Iglesia Española en los siete primeros siglos. A. C Vega (*ibid.*, Jan. 1942–Jan. 1943).
Porqué los judíos son tan perseguidos? M. Bordoy-Torrents (*ibid.*, Jan., 1942).
La Biblioteca pública de San Acacio de Sevilla. Andrés Llordén (*ibid.*, Jan., Sept., Jan., 1943).
El Comentario al Cantar de los Cantares atribuído a Casiodor? Es Español? A. C. Vega (*ibid.*, Jan., 1942).
El "Liber de haeresibus" y el "De Variis Quaestionibus" de San Isidoro ante la crítica. X. X. X. (*ibid.*).
El humorismo de San Agustín. Conrado Rodríguez (*ibid.*, May).
En torno a un centenario: Claudio Coello en El Escorial. A. Alvarez Cabanas (*ibid.*).
El humanista toledano Juan de Vergara. M. de la Pinto (*ibid.*).
Momentos históricos de la gloria de Fray Luis de León. M. Bordoy-Torrents (*ibid.*, Sept.).

Un caso de Nestorianismo Prenestoriano en Occidente, resuelto per S. Agustín. Agustín Trapé (*ibid.*, Jan. 1943).
La sacristía y el vestuario del Templo Primado en su calidad de Pinacoteca. A. Alvarez Cabanas (*ibid.*).
Tajón de Zaragoza, una obra inédita. Angel Custodio Vega (*ibid.*).
Ascendencia Vasca de Alfonso II el Casto. Diego P. de Arrilucea (*ibid.*, May).
El Candidato ala Sacerdocio en los Concilios de Toledo. Ursino Domínguez (*ibid.*).
La Sacristía de la Real Basílica de El Escorial. A. Alvarez Cabanas (*ibid.*).
El testamento del Doctor Juan de Vergara y algunas referencias sobre su Erasmismo. M. de la Pinta Llorente (*ibid.*).
The *Corregidor* in Castile in the Sixteenth Century and the *Residencia* as Applied to the *Corregidor*. Robert S. Chamberlain (*Hispanic Amer. Histor. Rev.*, May).
The Influence of Catarina Civo and Vittoria Colonna on the Capuchins. Fr. Charles Repole (*Round Table of Franciscan Research*, May).
Francesco da Jesi, 1469-1549. Fr. Warren Schmidbauer (*ibid.*).
Italy, What of the Night? Prospects and Problems. Luigi Sturzo (*America*, Sept. 11).
Lay Saints in Modern Italy. Don Luigi Sturzo (*Catholic World*, Sept.).
Sicily, the America of the Greek World and its Eternal Battlefield. Henri Gregoire (*Belgium*, Aug.).
The Battle of the Golden Spurs (1302), a National Day. Zena (*Belgium*, July).
The Copernican Quadricentenalia [seven articles by various authors]. *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of A. and S. in Amer.*, July).
The Unsolved Constitutional Issues in France. Charles Knudson (*ibid.*).
Christina of Sweden [*cont.*]. Marguerite Horan Gowen (*Records of the Amer. Catholic Histor. Soc.*, June).
French Catholics since 1940: The Effects of Three Years under the Invader. Anon. (*Tablet*, June 12).
Training for Citizenship, "Authoritarian" Austrian Style. R. John Rath (*Journal of Central European Affairs*, July).
Austria and the Danubian Nations. Aurel Kolnai (*ibid.*).
The Socio-Graphic Aspects of the Minorities Problem of Czechoslovakia, 1918-1938. Joseph S. Roucek (*ibid.*).
Polish-Russian Relations—Past and Present. Oscar Halecki (*Rev. of Politics*, July).
The Twilight Years of Russian Culture. Helen Iswolsky (*ibid.*).
Péguy and the Spirit of France. John U. Nef. (*ibid.*).

BRITISH EMPIRE

Roman Traditionalist Influence among the Anglo-Saxons. Margaret Deanesly (*Eng. Histor. Rev.*, Apr.).
Confirmatio Cartarum and Baronial Grievances in 1297. Part I. J. G. Edwards (*ibid.*).
Ralph Anstruther Earle. Gavin B. Henderson (*ibid.*).
The House of Ordgar and the Foundation of Tavistock Abbey. H. P. R. Finberg (*ibid.*).
Bishop Sutton and the Institution of Heads of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln. Rosalind Hill (*ibid.*).
St. Kyneburga of Gloucester. J. B. L. Tolhurst (*Pax*, Summer).
Arthur's Dream. Elaine C. Southward (*Speculum*, Apr.).
Newgate Prison in the Middle Ages. Margery Bassett (*ibid.*).
English and French in England 1100-1300. R. M. Wilson (*History*, Mar.).
Edward Augustus Freeman, 1823-1892. H. A. Cronne (*ibid.*).
The Letters of Father Persons [a review article of the volume edited by Leo Hicks, S.J.]. James Brodrick (*Month*, May–June).
England's Legion of Lost Churches. E. R. Yarham (*Month*, July–Aug.).

The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning, and History. Part I. George F. Black (*Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Aug.).
Religious Education in Scotland. R. A. L. Smith (*Dublin Rev.*, July).
Eclipse of the Irish Nation in the Eighteenth Century. Edward Cahill, S.J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Apr.).
The Lay College, Maynooth. John Brady (*ibid.*).
Ireland in the Seven Years War. Michael Tierney (*Studies*, June).
Ripa Revisited [Cesare Ripa's influence in allegorical art in the 17th and 18th centuries]. C. P. Curran (*ibid.*).
Irish Industry and Industrial Policy 1921-1943. James Meenan (*ibid.*).
Grace O'Malley: The Queen of the West. Conor Maguire (*ibid.*).
Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France. Part VI. Richard Hayes (*ibid.*).

AMERICAN

Americanism and Frontier Catholicism. Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C. (*Rev. of Politics*, July).
Thomas Jefferson and Freedom of Religion. Frederick J. Zwierlein (*Ecclesiastical Rev.*, July).
Cotton Mather Speaks to France: American Propaganda in the Age of Louis XIV. Howard C. Rice (*New England Quart.*, June).
German-American Catholics in Boston, 1846. John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap. (*Social Justice Rev.*, Sept.).
The Catholic Church in Vermont, A Statistical Survey, 1832-1854. Thomas F. O'Connor (*Proceedings of the Vermont Histor. Soc.*, June).
Traditions of Bally [History of the Church of the Most Blessed Sacrament at Bally, Pennsylvania]. Leo Gregory Fink (*Records of the Amer. Catholic Histor. Soc.*, June).
Foundations of Catholic Sisterhoods in United States 1850 [*cont.*]. Sister Maria Alma (*ibid.*).
Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg's Early Labors in Pennsylvania: 1742-1760. Milton Rubincam (*Pennsylvania Hist.*, July).
The Beloved Mendicant. Moments from the Life of Father Francis Koch, O.F.M. (1843-1920) [*cont.*]. Benjamin F. Musser (*Provincial Annals*, Province of the Holy Name, July).
Reading and Other Recreations of Marylanders, 1700-1776 [*cont.*]. Joseph Towne Wheeler (*Maryland Histor. Mag.*, June).
The Franciscan Sisters or Sisters of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis. Anon (*Catholic Virginia*, Aug.).
The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America in Southern Reconstruction, 1860-1880. Oliver S. Hackman (*North Carolina Histor. Rev.*, July).
An Italian Account of Cherokee Uprisings at Fort Loudoun and Fort Prince George, 1760-1761. M. De Filipis, Ed. (*ibid.*).
The Salzburgers in Georgia. Hans Huth (*American-German Rev.*, Aug.).
Early Days in West Belleville, Illinois. Letters from Theodore Erasmus Hilgard. Helmut Hirsch (*ibid.*, June).
The Hegelization of the West. Henry A. Pochmann (*ibid.*).
On the Illuminated Writings [Fraktur Schriften] of the Pennsylvania Germans. Henry S. Borneman (*ibid.*).
The French-Canadians in Michigan. Richard Clyde Ford (*Michigan History Magazine*, Spring).
The Melting Pot in Northeastern Wisconsin. Anton Jarstad (*Wisconsin Mag. of Hist.*, June).
Lieutenant Armstrong's Expedition to the Missouri River, 1790. Colton Storm (*Mid-America*, July).
Julia Greeley, "Colored Angel of Charity." Sister M. Lilliana Owens (*Colorado Mag.*, Sept.).
Ethnic Settlement of Montana. H. G. Merriam (*Pacific Histor. Rev.*, June).

Montana Politics during the Meagher Regime, 1865-1867. W. Turrentine Jackson (*Pacific Histor. Rev.*, June).

Fr. Weninger's Trip from Oregon to San Francisco in 1869. John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap. (*Social Justice Rev.*, July–Aug.).

New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861. Chapter III. Internal Politics of New Mexico, 1846-1857. Loomis Morton Ganaway (*New Mexico Histor. Rev.*, July).

Memoirs of Marian Russell [Life in Santa Fe in the 1850's]. Mrs. Hal Russell. (*Colorado Mag.*, July).

Hispanidad. Michael Kenny, S.J. (*Catholic World*, Sept.).

Hernan Perez de Oliva's "Ystoria de Colón." Leonardo Olschki (*Hispanic Amer. Histor. Rev.*, May).

Quelques aspects de la question de race dans l'Amérique hispanique. Richard Pattée (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, July–Sept.).

Beato Juan Macías, O.P. Jesús García Gutiérrez (*Christus*, July).

San Luis Beltrán, O.P. Jesús García Gutiérrez (*ibid.*, Sept.).

Los torreones de la vieja Calzada de los Misterios. Anon. (*La Voz Guadalupana*, June).

The Folkways of Brazil [a bibliography]. Part II. Karl Brown, Ed. (*Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, July).

Duarte da Costa, Second Governor-General of Brazil. Ruth Lapham Butler (*Mid-America*, July).

El Rio Del Espiritu Santo. Jean Delanglez, S.J. (*ibid.*).

La Constitución de 1823 [Peru]. Jose Pareja (*Revista de la Universidad Católica del Peru*, Apr.).

Fray Juan de San Miguel, fundador de pueblos. Eduardo Enrique Rios (*Abside*, July–Sept.).

El Clero y la Independencia [v. *Abside*, Oct., 1941]. José Bravo Ugarte (*ibid.*).

BOOKS RECEIVED

Alden, Carroll Stores, and Allan Westcott, *The United States Navy. A History.* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1943. Pp. x, 452. $2.40.) Two members of the Department of English, History, and Government of the United States Naval Academy have collaborated in this general history of the American men of the sea. The volume is illustrated by Maps and Diagrams and contains references at the end of each chapter for further reading. The story comes down to November, 1942. The book has an Index. John Barry receives brief mention (pp. 13, 25) while the major share of the history of the Navy during the Revolution goes to John Paul Jones.

Bailly, Auguste, *Richelieu.* (Paris: A. Fayard et Cie.; Distributed by Montreal: Les Editions Variétés. 1943. Pp. 346. $1.25.)

Bainton, Roland H., and Lois O. Gibbons, *George Lincoln Burr, His Life. Selections from His Writings.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1943. Pp. xi, 505. $3.75.)

Benians, E. A., *The United States. An Historical Sketch.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1943. Pp. 110. $1.25.) The Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, here presents in five brief chapters the main outlines of the history of the United States from the birth of national independence to the message of President Roosevelt to Congress in January, 1942.

Biggerstaff, Knight, *The Far East and the United States.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1943. Pp. 60. 40c.) Professor Biggerstaff is the author of the second brochure in the Cornell University Curriculum Series in World History. Like its predecessor, it contains a narrative section, a List of Selected Readings, Study and Discussion questions, and Activities for Pupils.

Bining, Arthur Cecil, *The Rise of American Economic Life.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. xii, 732. $4.00.)

Borden, Lucille Papin, *From the Morning Watch.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1943. Pp. viii, 213. $2.50.) This work is a story of the Holy Land told by the author of *Once—In Palestine.* It is a spiritual travelogue by a woman who is a descendant of two of America's oldest English and French families, her great-grandfather having been Liquest de Laclede, the founder of St. Louis in 1764.

Browne-Olf, Lillian, *The Sword of Saint Michael. Saint Pius V, 1504-1572.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1943. Pp. x, 284. $3.00.)

Carlé, Charles, *Mysticism in Modern Psychology.* (New York: Psycho-Sociological Press. 1943. Pp. 47. $1.00.)

Chapman, Berlin B., *The Chapman Family. A Study in the Social Development of Central West Virginia.* (Tulsa: Mid-West Printing Co. 1942. Pp. xiv, 287. $2.25.) The author of this family history is associate professor of history in the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. The narrative begins with William Francis Marion Chapman born in 1836 and traces the descendants to the present time. The volume is generously illustrated and has as well a number of genealogical tables.

Clarke, Mary Patterson, *Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies.* Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Ed. *Miscellany* XLIV. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 303. $3.00.)

Commager, Henry Steele (Ed.), *Documents of American History.* 3rd ed. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1943. Pp. xxii, 648. $4.00.) This third edition of Professor Commager's popular source book includes a number of new documents up to the time of President Roosevelt's speech on the war with Japan delivered on December 9, 1941.

Cooper, Lane, *Experiments in Education.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 176. $2.50.) Professor Cooper gives here fourteen brief chapters ranging in content from "The Place of the Library" to "A Seminary Course in Chaucer." It should prove a very useful book for teachers and students of literature. A number of the essays have appeared elsewhere. The work contains as well a list of the author's other writings.

Crowl, Philip A., *Maryland During and After the Revolution. A Political and Economic Study.* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series LXI, No. 1. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. 185, xiv. $1.75.)

De Senna, Nelson, *Africanos no Brasil.* (Belo Horizonte Graphica Queiroz Breyner Ltda. 1938. Pp. 297.)

Eguiguren, Luis Antonio, *Invincible Jaén.* Part II. (Lima. 1943. Pp. 829.)

Eustace, C. J., *House of Bread. A Catholic Journey.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1943. Pp. x, 159. $2.25.) Mr. Eustace, educational editor of J. M. Dent & Sons of Toronto, here gives the story of his spiritual and philosophical experiences which brought him into the Catholic Church. Appended to the narrative is a Selected Reading List on some of the main problems in apologetics.

Golding, Louis, *In the Steps of Moses.* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publications Society of America. 1943. Pp. 556. $2.50.) Louis Golding's earlier two volumes published in England, *In the Steps of Moses the Lawgiver* and *In the Steps of Moses the Conqueror,* have here been combined in this American edition in an account of the great lawgiver which is based in part on history, legend, travel, and fictional matter to give a consecutive narrative.

Goldman, Eric F., *Charles J. Bonaparte, Patrician Reformer, His Earlier Career.* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXI, No. 2. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. 150, xiv. $1.50.)

Goodspeed, Edgar J., *The Goodspeed Parallel New Testament. The American Translation and the King James Version.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 600. $2.00.) This is a very convenient volume for comparative study of the American Translation of the New Testament with the King James Version. They are arranged in parallel columns and each book is preceded by an introduction and followed by explanatory notes furnished by Dr. Goodspeed.

Haiman, Miecislaus, *Kosciuszko in the American Revolution.* Polish Institute Series No. 4. (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America. 1943. Pp. vii, 198.)

Handbook of Federal World War Agencies and Their Records, 1917-1921. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1943. Pp. xiii, 666. Cloth, $1.25.)

Hook, Sidney, *The Hero in History. A Study in Limitation and Possibility.* (New York: John Day Co. 1943. Pp. xiv, 273. $2.50.)

Hurwitz, Howard Lawrence, *Theodore Roosevelt and Labor in New York State, 1880-1900.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 316. $3.75.)

Jaeger, Werner, *Humanism and Theology.* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1943. Pp. 87. $1.50.) The Aquinas Lecture for 1943 at Marquette University was delivered by Professor Jaeger of Harvard University and is here presented to readers with a short biographical note on the lecturer and twenty pages of notes to the sources used by him in his treatment of the subject.

Kirkfleet, Cornelius J., O.Praem., *The White Canons of St. Norbert.* (West De Pere: St. Norbert Abbey. 1943. Pp. xxvi, 307.)

Knickerbocker, Frances W., *Free Minds: John Morley and His Friends.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 288. $3.00.)

Koch, Adrienne, *The Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. xiv, 208. $2.50.)

Koenig, Harry C., (Ed.), *Principles for Peace.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1943. Pp. xxv, 894. $7.50.)

Langsam, Walter Consuelo, *The World Since 1914.* 5th Ed. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1943. Pp. xviii, 837, 107. $4.00.) The Foreword to this fifth edition of the popular textbook of Professor Langsam states that "every chapter in this edition has been re-written." The author has done this for three reasons: because new material has come to light, recent events have dictated a change in emphasis, and because space had to be conserved. The Bibliography has been brought up to date.

Lucas, Henry S., *A Short History of Civilization.* (New York: McGraw-Hill Co. 1943. Pp. ix, 994. $4.50.)

McKinlay, Arthur Patch, *Arator The Codices.* Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 43. (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1942. Pp. 127, xxxvii plates. $3.00.)

McSorley, Joseph, *An Outline History of the Church by Centuries.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1943. Pp. xxvii, 1084. $7.50.)

Marcham, Frederick George, *Canada. Member of the British Commonwealth and a Good Neighbor of the United States.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1943. Pp. 78. 40c.) This bulletin is No. 1 in the Cornell University Curriculum Series in World History. It is intended as an aid to high school teachers who wish to emphasize Canada in their classes. An interpretative analysis is given, a brief annotated Bibliography, study and discussion questions, and lastly a section on activities for pupils. Such bulletins should prove of real service to the harrassed teacher who wishes to take out from the mass of material presented in textbooks something that will be of enduring worth to their students.

Maritain, Jacques, *Education at the Crossroads.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. x, 120. $2.00.) The distinguished French philosopher delivered the Terry Lectures at Yale during the present year. The lectures are here presented in book form in four chapters of three divisions each.

————, *Art and Poetry.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1943. Pp. 104. $1.75.) This small volume has been translated by E. de P. Matthews and contains an essay on three painters: Chagall, Rovault, and Severim.

Miller, John C., *The Origins of the American Revolution.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. 1943. Pp. xiv, 519. $3.50.)

Moody, Ernest Addison, (Ed.), *Iohannis Buridani, Quaestiones super libris quattuor de caelo et mundo.* Mediaeval Academy of America, Studies and Documents, No. 6. (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1942. Pp. xxxv, 274. $4.50.)

Painter, Sidney, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony.* Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXI, No. 3. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. 211, xiv. $2.00.)

Papers on Thomas Jefferson. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 87, No. 3. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1943. Pp. iii, 199-289. $1.00.) The papers read before the American Philosophical Society in celebration of the bicentennial of Thomas Jefferson on April 22-24, 1943 have been issued by the Society as a separate number of its *Proceedings.* They consist of ten papers and treat of Jefferson under the aspect of philosopher, farmer, lawyer, student of the classics, lover of art, etc. The brochure contains six Plates.

Reynolds, George F., and Donald F. Connors, *Freedom Speaks. Ideals of Democracy in Poetry and Prose.* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1943. Pp. xvi, 270. $2.00.) Professors Reynolds of the University of Colorado and Connors of Fordham University have compiled this anthology from both prose and poetry which deals with the theme of freedom and democratic ideals. The anthology's publication has been sponsored by the College English Association.

Rich, E. E., *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1671-1674.* (Winnipeg: Champlain Society for the Hudson's Bay Record Society. 1942. Pp. lxviii, 276.)

Robertson, William Spence, *History of the Latin-American Nations.* 3rd ed. (New York: D. Appleton Century. 1943. Pp. xviii, 560. $4.00.) This is the third edition of a work which first appeared in 1922. The material has been brought down to the present and a selected list of works in English for each chapter has been included.

Roemer, Theodore, O.F.M.Cap., *St. Joseph in Appleton. The History of a Parish.* (Menasha: George Banta Publishing Co. 1943. Pp. xiii, 306.)

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